

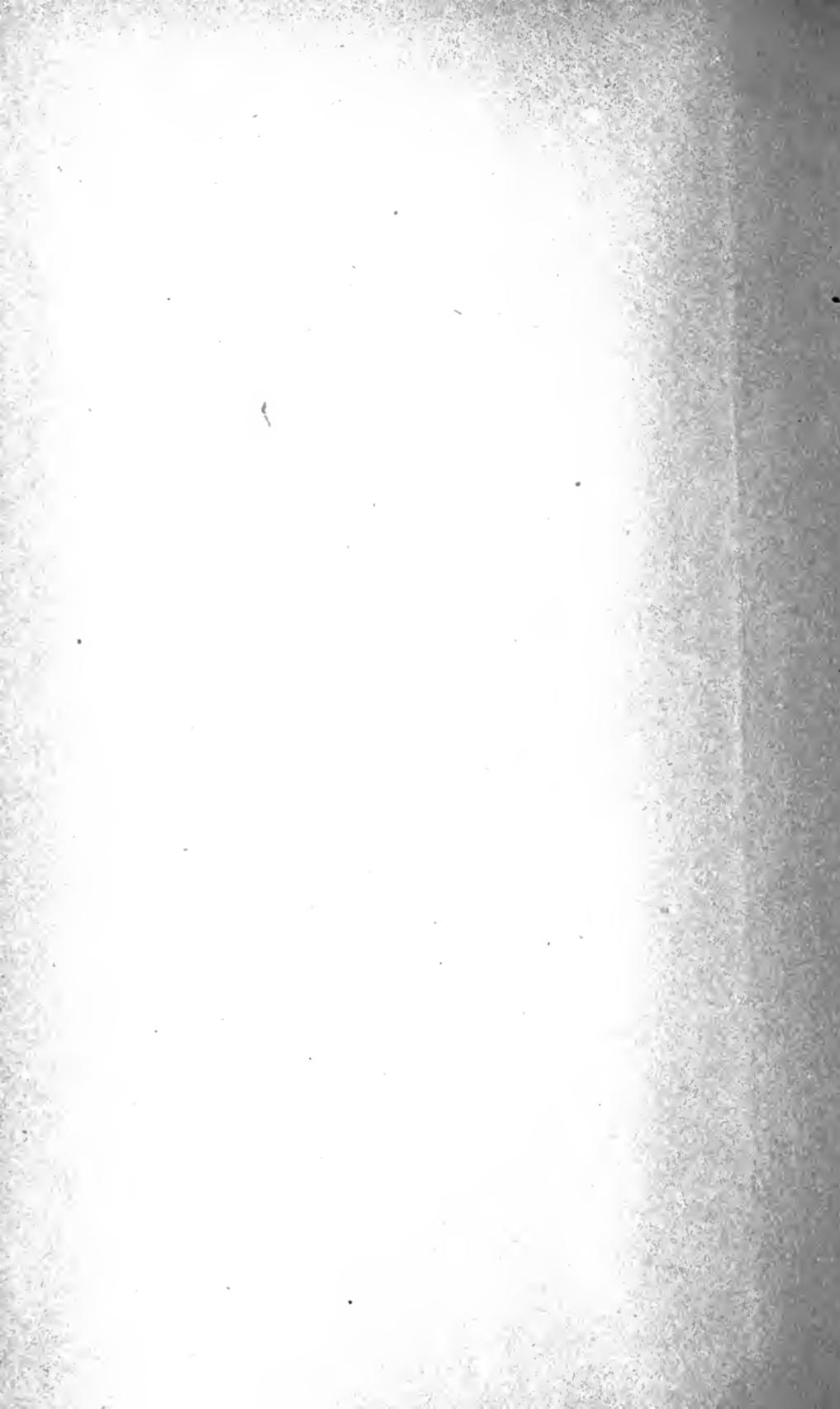
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THE JEW IN HISTORY



UNIVERSITY OF
THE CALIFORNIA

THE JEW IN HISTORY

BY

LEON LEVISON

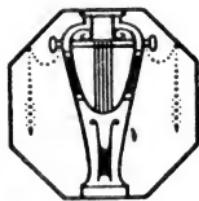
Author of

"The Jewish Problem and the World War"
"The Tragedy of the Jews in the European War Zone"
"How the Turk makes War"
"The Jew under the Oppressor's Iron Heel"
Etc.

WITH FOREWORD BY

Rev. NORMAN MACLEAN, D.D.

ST CUTHBERT'S PARISH CHURCH, EDINBURGH



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FOREWORD

BY

The Rev. NORMAN MACLEAN, D.D.

*St Cuthbert's Parish Church,
Edinburgh, 15th May 1916.*

The world owes its soul to the Jew. Through his spiritual genius men have been delivered from the tyranny and debasement of gods many, gods immoral and gods unspeakable, and have received the revelation of the One God, all-holy. And through the Jew, the light grew ever brighter, until at last the full radiance of the divine glory shone in the face of Jesus Christ, to whom the world owes whatever of beauty and truth it to-day possesses.

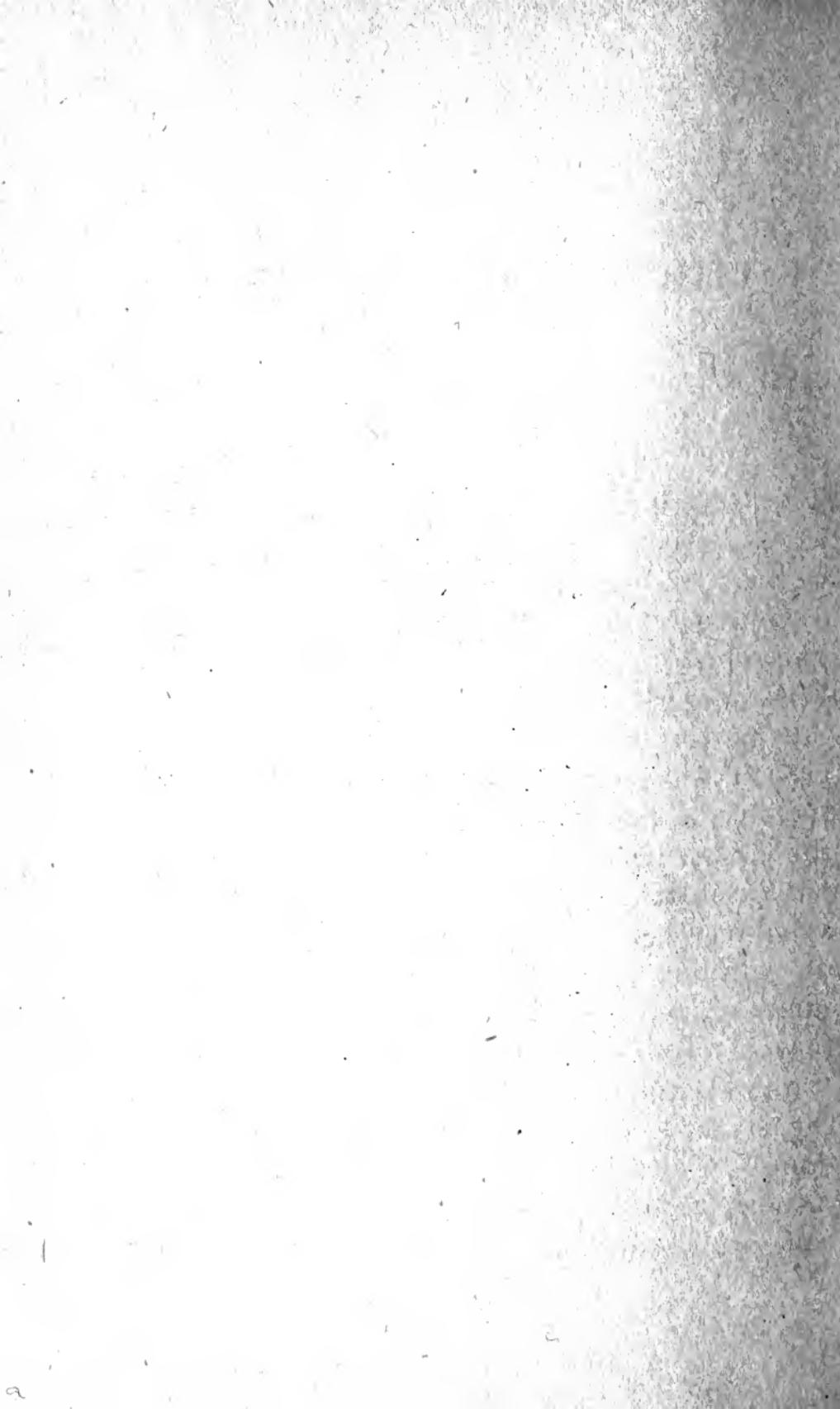
Christendom owes the Jew a great debt of reparation. It has in the past repaid its debt by the ceaseless persecutions of centuries. The horrors of the Middle Ages have been in our own day perpetrated in Russia, and the blood of the Jews, which has flown like a stream through the ages, was there shed in torrents. And to-day, that race has entered on its greatest martyrdom. For Jew fights against Jew in a quarrel not his own. Seven times have lands occupied by millions of Jews been swept by the

advancing and receding tides of war, and each time massacre has followed in the wake. If a remnant is to survive, the hearts of the charitable must be stirred. The starving cry for bread : and there is no bread. In all the ages of the world there has been no agony like that of the Jew.

I share the hope of Mr Leon Levison that the end of this war may be the restoration of the Jews to Palestine. It is the only lasting reparation that Christendom can make for centuries of wrong. It is a disgrace that the holy places of Christianity should be in the hands of Mohammedans. To that fact Islam owes much of its prestige. I fervently hope that at the end of the war Jerusalem shall no longer be trodden of the Gentiles, and that the dispersed of Israel shall once more have their racial centre in Zion. If Palestine should come under the protection of the British Empire, it would be the greatest trust ever committed to us. And there, in Jerusalem, where nineteen centuries ago they crucified the greatest of all the sons of men, the Jews, their hearts won by the love and mercy and goodness which brought them again to their own, will at last crown as their own, the King whom they have given to the world. For the Jews cannot for ever be blind to the light which arose in their midst and which filleth the whole world. The only way to make them see that light is to make them feel the love that Jesus Christ inspires—the love to which suffering and need never call in vain.

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THE JEW IN HISTORY

CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARY

THE Jew is the paradox of history. In the words of a French writer: "He alone can, without exceeding the limits of probability, trace his genealogy back through the ages to prehistoric times. As compared with the Jews we are young, we are new-comers, in the matter of civilisation they are ahead of us. It was in vain that we locked them up for several hundred years behind the walls of the Ghetto; no sooner were their prison gates unbarred than they easily caught up with us, even on those paths which we had opened up without their aid. In the Jewish race there abides a secret vitality, a marvellous power of recuperation and rejuvenation." Can we explain the paradox, can we discover the secret? Only by one way can this be done—by tracing the course of the Jewish race as recorded in history. History alone can furnish the clue.

The Jew in History

The clue to the history of the Jews is found in religion. In truth the clue to the history of all peoples is in religion. In the words of the late Sir John Seeley : " Religion is, and always has been, the basis of Societies and States. Look abroad where you will, in the wide field of history, you will find religion wherever it works freely and mightily either giving birth to and sustaining States or raising them up to a second life after their destruction."

While it is true that religion has always been the basis of societies and states, it is also true that, with one exception, it has led, by its corruption, to the degradation of man and the degeneracy of society. This fact has been obscured by the rise of the Evolution theory which, in the hands of influential writers, has been interpreted to represent the course of religious development as a gradual ascent from a lower to a higher stage. History shows clearly that, by virtue of an all-compelling law, religions tend to degeneration ; the theory of a gradual ascent from lower to higher stages is not borne out by facts. Why? Simply because man as a worshipping animal tends to become assimilated to the object of his worship. As man inevitably admires in others the qualities he possesses,

or desires to possess, he naturally in his deities worships those qualities in a magnified degree. Here we have the clue to paganism with its abominations. The attributing to pagan deities of the baser and corrupting elements in human nature led, by the glorification of immorality, to the ruin of ancient civilisations.

As already indicated, all religions, with one exception, led to individual and social degeneracy. That exception was the Jewish religion. How came it to be an exception? It was clear that society could only be lifted out of the abyss into which it had fallen, by having presented to it for worship a Deity whose attributes were moral. How was this to be done? Manifestly by a process of race selection and isolation. The doctrine of selection, of which Darwin made so much, had to be applied in a region higher than the purely physical. To the Jews was allotted the great task of introducing to the world the worship of a pure and holy Deity. The Jews were made the custodiers of ethical monotheism at a time when the representatives of civilisation, the Greeks and Romans, were wallowing in the mire of paganism with its debasing polytheism. The important stage in the process of preparing the Jews for their missionary propaganda, so to speak, was

reached when under Moses, their great leader, they were delivered from the contaminating influences of Egyptian idolatry and isolated in the wilderness. Unless we are to abandon the world to chance and deny an overruling guidance in human affairs, we must conclude that in the selection and isolation of the Jewish race providential influences were at work. It is asserted by writers of rationalistic tendencies, that this estimate of the mission of the Jews is disposed of by the application of the Higher Criticism to the Old Testament. It is somehow assumed that the Old Testament is discredited, as history, owing to the new views with regard to the authorship and date of the Pentateuch. Before the Old Testament is discredited the Higher Critics will have to answer this fundamental question: How came the Hebrews to be possessed of those conceptions of life and destiny which, like a golden thread, run through the marvellous literature of this people? In Hebrew literature the reader is face to face with the theocratic ideal, the idea of a kingdom of God upon earth, an ideal fatal to all kinds of injustice, and which inspired poets and prophets in a heroic warfare against unrighteousness in high places. Everything evil goes down before the theocratic ideal. Kings and rulers of all

kinds are estimated, not by conventional standards, but by their attitude towards the theocratic ideal.

In this respect the Old Testament is the most democratic book in the world. Powers and principalities are tolerated only so long as they own allegiance to the King of Kings. In Scotland we pride ourselves on the sturdy heroism of the Reformation and Covenanting worthies. Whence came their inspiration? From the study of the lives of the heroes of the Old Testament, Abraham, Moses, Elijah, Daniel and the rest of the noble band who in the early days of humanity, when popular rights were unknown, when as in ancient civilisations the individual was a mere chattel, fought valiantly for freedom of conscience, freedom to worship God in their own way despite the edicts of despotic monarchs. It does not alter the situation to be told that Jewish history is permeated with legends. Legends rest upon ideals, mythical heroes are the incarnation of popular ideals, and therefore theocratic and democratic ideals must have dominated the popular mind before they found expression in Hebrew literature, and so we come back to the question which the Higher Critics leave unanswered : Whence came the unique conceptions which

mark off the literature of Israel from all other literature?

When we change our point of view, when we look at the Old Testament from the standpoint of national literature, it ranks with the great masterpieces of the ancient world. We talk highly and justly of the classics. In the pages of Homer and the Greek dramatists we find human life mirrored, and the weighty problems of existence—its pathos and its tragedy—handled in a manner which for artistic realism has gained the admiration of the modern world. If we had come to the Old Testament without theological spectacles, if we had approached it from the human side, the verdict would have been that as literature it moves on a higher plane than even the much-extolled classics. Homer gives no better picture of patriarchal times than is given in the early chapters of Genesis; and in dealing with the great mysteries of life and death, with the tangled problems of good and evil, sin and suffering, the author of the book of Job gets nearer to the heart of things, and moves in a higher spiritual region than Sophocles and *Æschylus*. And what shall we say of the marvellous variety and literary splendour of the Bible? The Psalms, with their lyric tenderness, their passionate wail over sin and injustice, their triumphant faith in

the supremacy of righteousness ; Isaiah with his unmeasured denunciation, his exultant tone, his piercing visions, his magnificent poetic sweep, his faith in a divine ordering of the world ; Jeremiah with his pitiful wail over national ruin, his trembling faith nearly submerged in pessimistic musing—these strike responsive chords in the heart of humanity deeper than those struck by the great writers of Greece. As has been well said, in the Bible we have lyrics which Pindar cannot surpass, rhetoric as forcible as that of Demosthenes, and contemplative prose not inferior to Plato's. Moreover, we have in the Hebrews a people “dominated by a passion for righteousness, a people whose ideas of purity, of infinite good, of universal order, of faith in the downfall of all moral evil, moved to a poetic passion as fervid, and speech as musical as when Sappho sang of love, or *Æschylus* thundered his deep-tones of destiny.”

The history of a people with a marvellous historical development, unique in its contribution to religion, and supreme in the higher reaches of literature, is surely worthy of careful study.

CHAPTER II

THE NATION

EVEN by Higher Critics of the Wellhausen School it is admitted that the time of Moses is to be regarded as the properly creative period of Israel's history. At the Exodus there was implanted in the minds of the Israelites the germ of the national ideal. Nationalism rests upon three fundamental facts—unity of race, unity of religion and unity of purpose. In the case of the Israelites, unity of race already existed ; unity of religion was established by Moses ; and unity of purpose resulted from the Egyptian bondage which welded the tribes into a homogeneous body under their great leader. It is a drawback to the proper understanding of Jewish history, that so little attention has been paid to the secular side of the national life. As a result the uniqueness of the Jewish nation, and the important part it has played in civilisation, have been overshadowed by the importance which has been attached to theological controversy. Higher Critics of naturalistic views imagine that they have disposed of the problem when, to their own

satisfaction, they have traced the Jewish religion to pagan sources. It is overlooked that, inasmuch as religion in ancient times always presided at the birth of States, the political constitution, indeed the entire social life of the people, bore the impress of religion. For example, in pagan nations, like Greece and Rome, the corrupt state of society, the prevailing vice and injustice, are distinctly traceable to low conceptions of Deity.

When we turn to the Book of the Covenant embedded in the Book of Exodus, and acknowledged to be the oldest Hebrew literature, dating back to the Mosaic period, we find a conception of Deity totally different from that held by other Semite nations. Even Wellhausen, notwithstanding his anxiety to postulate a late date for monotheism, admits that it is "presupposed in the Universal precepts of the Decalogue," and even Kuenen admits that in its fundamental form the Decalogue is Mosaic.

Between the early religion of the Jews and that of surrounding nations there was a vast difference. But there is also a vast difference between the constitution, laws and institutions of the Jews and those of surrounding nations. What if the difference between the constitution, laws and institutions of the Jews and those of surrounding nations is traceable to the

differences between their religions? If a low standard of secular life is traceable in pagan times to low, not to say immoral, conceptions of Deity, the obvious inference is that the higher ideals of Hebrew life are traceable to elevated conceptions of Deity. In contrast to the impure gods of paganism, the Hebrews worshipped a moral Deity. "Be ye holy for I am holy"—upon this great truth was the Hebrew theocracy founded. "Imagine," says a distinguished writer, "the transcendent moment for man, the supremest promise of grandest hope when the idea of a moral Deity entered his heart and passed into his history. That was a moment I call it of revelation."

The uniqueness of the Hebrew religion, as expressed in the Book of the Covenant, consists in the fact that for the first time religion and morality were united. In pagan states the national religion had no connection with morality. Religion was a matter of ceremonial, and consisted mainly of propitiatory rites with no ethical content; indeed religion was too often used in the service of immorality. What else could be expected, when the characters of the gods are considered? In his work on Heathenism Tholuck says that under paganism "temples were frequented, altars crowned and prayers offered to the gods in order that they

might render nights of unnatural lust agreeable, that they might favour acts of poison, that they might cause robberies and other acts to prosper." And we have the following testimony of Seneca : " How great is the madness of men ! They lisp the most abominable prayers ; and if a man is found listening they are silent. What a man ought not to hear they do not blush to relate to their gods."

In contrast to this the Book of the Covenant rests upon two fundamental ideas—man's ethical relation to a God of holiness and man's ethical relation to his fellows. In short, the Jewish theocracy had as its foundation, the germs of two great conceptions which came to fruition in the creed of Christendom, the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. It is not too much to say that the Book of the Covenant marks an epoch not only in the history of religion, but also of civilisation. In regard to the great basal factors of human societies we have in the Mosaic code a political constitution, land laws, trade regulations, social enactments, sanitary rules, etc., which we moderns, with all our experience and wisdom, have not been able to match. For the first time in recorded history there was outlined a form of civilisation which made for individual liberty, social well-being and national prosperity. To a small Semitic

nation belongs the honour of making the first Declaration of the Rights of Man.

In his most suggestive work, *History of Intellectual Development*, Mr J. B. Crozier emphasises the debt which civilisation owes to the Jews :

“ And so, for the first time in recorded history was taken a real step in the advance of the Morality of the World to a higher plane, and that, too, by a small Semitic tribe. For the first time idolatry had been suppressed, and after centuries of effort the belief in One God (without which, as we have seen, no real advance in morality was possible) was firmly rooted in the minds of men. If, then, we now ask what the particulars of that moral advance were, we may tabulate them as follows :— The getting adultery, prostitution, and other nameless heathen practices (as well as the taking of human life), recognised by men as sins, and not as mere civil offences in which you could indulge if you were willing or able to pay for them ; the making the parental relation a sacred one, at a time when in all other countries parents were either the tyrants or slaves of their children ; the recognition of the human brotherhood of the stranger and alien within their gates and of his claim to

kindness and consideration, at a time when elsewhere he was regarded with dislike, or treated as an enemy ; the making of sorcery, witchcraft, and divination, sins and crimes ; the abolition of human sacrifices ; the mitigation of slavery to the point where it almost ceased to be slavery ; and the making of philanthropy a religious duty binding on all, instead of leaving it as a matter of individual caprice.

“ Now these were all real advances in morality, not attained for centuries afterwards by any other nation, and wrought out by the Jews, and by the Jews alone. So that when Christ came there was nothing for Him to do but to take peaceful possession of this vast estate which had been already won and prepared for Him, viz. the belief in One God, freedom from Idolatry, and a code of Personal Morality which, with the exception perhaps of the marriage laws, was identical with that of the present day.”

Like testimony is borne by Fremantle in his Bampton Lectures :

“ Study the history of the three races (Greeks, Romans and Jews) and ask which of the three represents an ideal of life of the most central importance and the most applicable to ourselves. The ideal of the Greek was versatility ; that of the Roman, Imperial power ; that of Israel,

Righteousness, 'Open ye the gates that the righteous nation, which keepeth the truth, may enter in.' We learn much, no doubt, from Aristotle's *Politics*, and from Roman constitutional history. But the Greek republics, whatever their form, were an aristocracy superimposed upon a mass of slavery. Roman history resulted in a despotism, a useless patriciate, and a pauper proletariat. The Jewish community was a brotherhood bound together by a worship and a law of righteousness, and it gave birth to the righteousness which is owned as complete where that of Rome and of Greece fails. The ideal we seek in modern times is that of a national community knit together in all its relations by righteousness and love, and caring especially for its weaker members. This neither Greece nor Rome did, but only the Jewish nation."

The proof of the power of morality when linked with a pure religion to elevate and purify the social order is shown by the fact that when the Hebrews, through their contact with the Canaanites and other pagan peoples, adulterated their religion with heathen practices, social corruption was the result. Following upon religious apostasy came political and social anarchy. Disintegrating

elements were kept in check by the necessity of union in face of formidable enemies, and ultimately by the establishment of the monarchy.

Under Saul, Israel became a kingdom, but to David is due the honour of raising the kingdom to a pinnacle of glory. His rule extended from the Euphrates to Egypt. His heroic deeds and piety made him an ideal king. The capital, Jerusalem, became the centre of Jewish hopes, and in after days the object of passionate attachment, sacred with the nation's memories, the symbol of the nation's hopes.

Under Solomon the kingdom developed along the lines of Imperialism. Power was centralised, local distinctions ignored, and Jerusalem blossomed into courtly magnificence and material splendour. With foreign nations Solomon formed alliances, and for State purposes he introduced forced labour for Israelites as well as aliens. He set up high places for the gods of his allies. By his despotic rule with its severe laws, grinding taxation, and toleration of paganism, Solomon struck at the ideals of the Mosaic legislation, personal rights and purity of religion. Widespread discontent was the outcome, and after his death came the crisis.

On the accession of Rehoboam a deputation waited upon him to get relief from the heavy burdens which Solomon had imposed upon them. The king in haughtiness made the historic reply : "My father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." The result was the revolt of the ten tribes under a new king, Jeroboam.

It was only after a succession of feuds of the Oriental type among claimants to the throne, that something like a stable dynasty was established in Israel under Omri, who has been described as a minor David, on account of the power and prestige which came to Israel during his reign. He was succeeded by his son, Ahab, an easy-going man who was entirely dominated by a forceful, resolute wife. To please Jezebel he set up a temple in honour of the Tyrian Baal. This, to the servants of Jehovah, was a challenge which was dramatically accepted by Elijah, a prophet, stern, unbending, filled with dauntless courage. He made war against the policy of Ahab and the idolatry which, under the influence of Jezebel, was being introduced. His fierce denunciation of Ahab for the murder of Naboth showed that Elijah, in the spirit of the Mosaic code, was as zealous for the rights of man as for the honour of Jehovah. To the

prophet, secular injustice toward man was as abhorrent as religious apostasy. Elijah was the first of the great men who, in the words of Wellhausen, "raised Kings from the dust and smote them to it again." Under Elisha the war against idolatry was continued by methods sometimes of unexampled ferocity.

While Israel was being torn by internal strife a dark cloud appeared on the horizon in the form of Assyria. This nation, flushed with conquest, was extending its borders, and sooner or later Israel would come within its sphere of influence. This particular period, the eighth century B.C., was full of significance for Israel. The mass of the people and their leaders failed to read the signs of the times. Secure in the belief that Jehovah would protect His chosen people, they were utterly blind to the approaching danger. They were at ease in Zion. As in the case of Elijah a century earlier, the hour had come, and the man. From the sheepfolds of Tekoa came Amos, prophesying terrible things.

The appearance of Amos was most dramatic. At Bethel the multitude were assembled at a great festival. In the midst of their throng, thrilled to joyousness by gladsome songs to the music of harp and tabour, appeared Amos, striking a mournfully discordant note. In

dirge-like tones he predicted coming evil. "The virgin of Israel is fallen, never more to rise; lies prostrate in her own land with no one to help her up." Amos delivered the unwelcome message that the kingdom of Israel was on the eve of downfall, and that the inhabitants would be deported to a far-off land. More unpalatable, perhaps, than the prediction of doom was the reason assigned. How could calamity come upon an elect nation, the special favourite of Jehovah? According to Amos, it was just because Israel was an elect nation, a special favourite, that, on account of disobedience, it was to receive special punishment; special privileges entail special responsibilities. "You only do I know," Amos represents God as saying, "therefore do I visit upon you all your sins."

Such a message, as insulting as it was humiliating, roused the wrath of the official party in the State. Moreover, it was monstrous that the great national festival should be disturbed by an obscure Judean shepherd, a bucolic pessimist. Turning to Amos, Amaziah the priest of Bethel, exclaimed: "Go, flee away into the land of Judah and there eat bread and prophesy there. But prophesy no more at Bethel; for it is the King's sanctuary, and it is a royal house."

Amos was followed by Hosea. He struck a tenderer note. Amos the shepherd, steeped in the gloom and majesty of nature, dwelt upon the sterner side of Jehovah's nature, while Hosea, a prophet of tenderer mould, emphasised mercy. Hosea's conception of God was that of a father, sorrowing over a prodigal son.

The fulfilment of the prediction did not tarry. In 721 B.C. the kingdom of Israel was invaded by the Assyrians, and though Samaria, the capital, made a desperate resistance, it succumbed. All the inhabitants of importance were deported, according to the prophecy of Amos. Absorbed in the population among which they were planted, the ten tribes disappeared from the stage of history.

Hitherto the kingdom of Judah was free from external pressure. Judah had one great advantage, it was outside the zone of foreign interference, except perhaps from Egypt, which, however, was not a dangerous neighbour. But a critical situation had arisen with the continued successes of the Assyrians, to whom Judah felt it expedient to become tributary. Upon the whole, the kingdom enjoyed considerable prosperity. Isaiah, who became prominent about this time, had set his heart upon a reformation of religion, and in order to

secure this he advocated, in foreign affairs, a policy of non-intervention. Attempts to throw off the Assyrian yoke, he felt, would create all kinds of distractions and postpone his great scheme of religious reform.

For thirty years the land had peace. In 705, Sargon, King of Assyria, died, and was succeeded by Sennacherib. A number of petty kingdoms thought the time was come for throwing off the Assyrian yoke. Hezekiah allowed himself to be dragged into the alliance. Isaiah, whose views about non-intervention were well known, was kept in ignorance of the negotiations. When he did get to know the truth he was wroth. He feared for Jerusalem the fate of Samaria. Sennacherib soon brought Hezekiah to his senses. The allies were defeated. Hezekiah offered submission, which was accepted. He was allowed to retain Jerusalem. Sennacherib proceeded against Egypt, but, recognising the danger of leaving in his rear an important fortress like Jerusalem, he treated his agreement with Hezekiah as "a scrap of paper," and demanded the surrender of the city. The Assyrian king had now to deal with a man of sterner stuff than Hezekiah. Isaiah would hear nothing of surrender. The enemy, he declared, would not enter Jerusalem. He

fortified the King with a message from Jehovah to the Assyrians. "I know thy sitting, thy standing and thy going, and also thy rage against me. And I will put my ring in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way which thou camest." The prediction was fulfilled. A mysterious epidemic broke out in the Assyrian army, and Sennacherib made a hurried retreat to Nineveh.

Once more Judah breathed freely; once again the land had peace. It was the lull before another storm. Trouble threatened from another quarter. The sceptre of world-power passed from Assyria to another mighty people, the Chaldeans, in 605 B.C. In 602 Judah felt the heavy hand of the new foe, and was compelled to submit. For three years King Jehoiakim paid tribute, and then withheld it. In 597 Nebuchadnezzar appeared before Jerusalem. The King and his advisers, against the advice of Jeremiah, whose unpopular policy of submission nearly cost him his life, were bent upon resistance. The city was taken by storm, and the temple reduced to ruins. Terrible vengeance was taken upon the King and his court. The principal inhabitants were deported to Babylon; only the poor of the land were left as vine-dressers

under a Babylonian governor. In 586 B.C. the kingdom of Judah came to an end. Jeremiah, who, like Amos, had prophesied captivity for the chosen people, lived to see the fulfilment of his predictions. With a heart torn with anguish, he gave utterance to his feelings in *Lamentations*, a production which for tragic power, soul-melting pathos and intensity of religious emotion is unsurpassed in the world's literature.

CHAPTER III

THE RELIGION OF THE JEWS

HEBREW prophets and historians alike attribute the evils which befell the nation to religious apostasy. Attention has already been called to the intimate connection between religion and morality. It is a law of history that individual and social corruption inevitably follow from worship of god or gods with immoral attributes. All through the Old Testament attention is called to this law ; and it is emphatically stated that Israel's corruptions were due to the fact that the people had deserted Jehovah, and had given themselves up to the abominations of paganism. Israel is represented as having come into possession of a pure religion and an ideal code of laws, and the people are denounced by the prophets for turning their backs upon their great privileges, and for setting at naught the Decalogue, the Magna Charta of the nation.

This view is strongly contested by the Higher Critics. We are told by Wellhausen, Kuenen and others, that the Hebrews in the matter of religion were in the same plane as

other Semites, that in accordance with the law of evolution they passed through lower to higher stages; and that not till the time of Amos and the later prophets is reached do we come upon monotheistic conceptions. This view, of course, rests upon an entirely new and revolutionary interpretation of the Old Testament. The writers, it is urged, had no conception of history in the modern sense. They mixed legend, myth and fact in most confusing fashion, and as a consequence we cannot accept as authentic the accounts given of the early history of Israel; indeed, according to this view, safe ground is not reached till we come to the times of the later prophets. All this is made to lead up to the conclusion that the advanced views of God recorded in early times were really late developments and were scattered through the Pentateuch by anonymous writers at the exile period so as to leave the impression that they were revealed to Moses at the time of the origin of the nation.

Who were these anonymous writers? Their names have passed into oblivion, but the Higher Critics, notably of the German School, by a process of literary dissection fancy themselves able to detect differences of style among them, and to identify them by such symbols as

J, E, A, A, B, C, R and so on. Each writer, it is argued, has a distinct style, and by means of this test it is possible to split up the composite writings of the Pentateuch and assign the different portions to their respective authors. This method of evolving history from their inner consciousness is peculiar to the Germans, with characteristic disregard of historic facts, and ignorance of psychological laws. In dealing with literary productions, the test of style is most misleading. It has been well said by the author of *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Psalms*: "I doubt if the writings of Tennyson should have the good fortune to survive two thousand years and then be the sole remains of English letters from the Victorian period, whether anyone will be inclined to refer *In Memoriam* and *The Princess* to the same author. Perhaps they will say they have been placed together, through the misapprehension of some later editor, to the same author, while *The Northern Farmer* will be rejected as spurious by all and made the point of many an argument as to the decay of English speech." What will the Higher Critics of English literature, two thousand years hence, say of Cowper's poems when they compare his melancholy outpourings with his rollicking *John Gilpin*? If they are Germans they will declare it a

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psychological impossibility that the rollicking poem of *John Gilpin* can be from the pen of a gloomy religious recluse. Further, in studying Burns they will emphatically deny that the author of the tender love song, *To Mary in Heaven*, with its exquisite pathos, could have been written by the author of *The Jolly Beggars*.

It follows from the standpoint of the Higher Criticism that prophets like Amos were not religious reformers, but religious revolutionists. Their aim was not to reform religion, but to introduce a new religion, ethical monotheism. It is unfortunate, for the soundness of this theory, that we do not find Amos introducing something new. His great aim is to get the nation to go back to something old. He does not speak of ethical monotheism as if it were something new; he denounces the people for departing from the ethical monotheism of the Mosaic age. Further, Amos and his brother prophets assume the truth of the nation's history as recorded in the Old Testament, and it is on the basis of that history their prophetic mission rests. Israel is reminded of the great things done for them at the time of the Exodus and the journeying in the wilderness. Treat these as legendary and the deliverances of the prophets become irrelevances. Why, for instance, does Amos recall the great facts in

Hebrew history? Not surely to tell the people about ethical monotheism, about which they are said to have been ignorant. If that had been all, denunciation was manifestly out of place. Ignorance demands pity, not denunciation. To denounce the people for not having a conception of Deity, which Amos himself was the first to reach, would have been folly in an extreme degree.

In their treatment of Deuteronomy we have another attempt of the Higher Critics to reduce to a minimum the early religion of Israel. In the eighteenth year of Josiah (622 B.C.), Hilkiah the High Priest, during repairs in the Temple, found a book which he identified as "the book of the law." The King, when he read it, was moved to confessing the guilt of the fathers in not hearkening to the words of the book. A great assembly was held, and on the basis of the discovered law-book the national covenant with God was renewed. This book was Deuteronomy.

The theory of the Higher Critics is that the book was written at the time with the view of bringing about a reformation. It was written in the name of Moses, and was placed in the temple with the view of its discovery as a Mosaic document, so as to identify the great leader of the people and secure the weight of

his name and prestige for the proposed reform. In a word, in the interest of religion the party of religious reform resorted to a pious fraud. This theory, supported by Reuss, Graf, Kuenen, Wellhausen, Stade, Cornill, Cheyne, Colenso and others, finds its chief support from the argument of silence. The religion of Israel in the time of Josiah, it is pointed out, was flagrantly at variance with the teaching of Deuteronomy—a state of things, say the Higher Critics, inconceivable had Deuteronomy been in existence. Is it not conceivable that in the times of religious apostasy and social anarchy the book was lost and its existence entirely forgotten? The fact that it was not known is no evidence that it did not exist. In history there is a parallel case. In his Lectures, *On the History of France*, Sir James Stephen has the following:—"When the barbarism of the domestic government had succeeded the government of the State, one of the most remarkable results of that political change was the disappearance of the laws and institutions by which Charlemagne had endeavoured to elevate and civilise his subjects. Before the close of the century in which he died, the whole body of his laws had fallen into utter disuse throughout the whole extent of his Gallic dominions. Those who have studied

the charters, laws, and chronicles of the later Carlovingian Princes most diligently, are unanimous in declaring that they indicate either an absolute ignorance or an entire forgetfulness of the legislation of Charlemagne." Take another illustration from Professor Bissel's book on the Pentateuch: "Had we for the first fourteen centuries of our era no other literature than the New Testament, what would be easier than to establish conclusions, the most absurd and misleading? Does the Church of the fourteenth century adequately, even decently, represent that book? This great complex and corrupt organism of popes and prelates, it might be said, could never have come from a mould so simple with a spirit so divine! Luther consequently was no mere translator, he must have been originator, author." The effect upon Luther, when reading the newly discovered New Testament, was similar to that upon Josiah when he read the newly discovered book of Deuteronomy. In both cases reformation followed. Religious reformations do not originate in pious frauds.

In Scotland's religious history we have another instance of the fallacy of the argument from silence. The Reformed Church was based upon John Knox's Confession, which was afterwards amplified by the Westminster Divines.

30 The Jew in History

In the eighteenth century, during the long reign of Moderatism, the preaching of the influential divines like Dr Blair was completely at variance with the doctrines of the Confession of Faith. German critics two thousand years hence, as the result of careful study of the sermons of the Moderates, the recognised exponents of Scottish religion, would naturally conclude that the Confession of Faith did not exist in the eighteenth century. It is inconceivable, the German critics would say, that the leaders of the Scottish Church in the eighteenth century could have completely ignored the Confession of Faith—a document which they were said to have signed when they entered the ministry. The Confession, they would argue, was framed at a later date, and attributed to the early divines in order to justify the great Evangelical Revival at the close of the eighteenth century.

Conservative defenders of the Higher Criticism do not take kindly to the "pious fraud" theory. It leaves a nasty taste in the mouth, and to improve the flavour a mediating theory is put forward. Attention is called to an important distinction between the origination and the codification of laws. Deuteronomy on this view need not have a fraudulent origin. The writer or writers may simply have amplified,

codified and given authoritative stamp to laws, the germ of which reached back to Mosaic times. So far no satisfactory theory has been produced with regard to Deuteronomy on the lines of the Higher Criticism, and the same remark applies with reference to the Levitical legislation. According to Kuenen and his school, the elevated ideas of the prophets did not become part of the national religion till after the exile. The success of the priestly class, it is asserted, was due to the manner in which they contrived to attribute the complex sacrificial system, which they elaborated, to Moses. With all their ingenuity, the critics have not been able to explain, on naturalistic principles, the uniqueness of the Levitical cult, with the beneficent and permanent influence it has exerted, compared with pagan cults.

Let the reader calmly study the Levitical legislation, with all its dry, forbidding details, uncongenial to the modern mind, and he will be surprised to find how admirably adapted it was to inoculate the people with elevated views of man's relation to God, and further, how effective it was in erecting a barrier against the inroad of pagan ideas and practices. Its value in this respect is acknowledged by Wellhausen, who remarks that the Levitical system preserved

for the Jews themselves "and at the same time, for the whole world an eternal good."

Considering the manner in which the prophets condemn ceremonialism, it is assumed that between them and the priestly class there was inevitable antagonism. What the prophets condemned was not so much the system of sacrifices as giving them undue value, to the disparagement and neglect of morality. The true view is that both prophets and priests were co-workers in one great mission. The mission of the prophets was to bring the people back to the monotheism of the Mosaic age. The mission of the priests was to preserve the purity of the monotheistic conception by erecting a barrier of minute regulations so as to prevent the entrance of idolatrous ideas and practices. Both prophets and priests had one common aim, to burn into the minds and hearts of the people the conception of One God, the embodiment of holiness and justice. And then, when a pure religion was stamped indelibly in the Jewish mind, the national system was broken up, and the Jews were sent forth as pioneers of a theism. To the Jews the destruction of their nation was a calamity of the first magnitude. To humanity it proved a blessing far-reaching in its sweep, and momentous in its issues. It meant the

death knell of paganism. In the words of Renan, the Jews "lost a material city; they opened a region of the spiritual Jerusalem." For their great providential mission, the Jews were prepared in Exile.

CHAPTER IV

EXILE AND RETURN

As a nation the Jews were nothing if not patriotic. With them, love of country was a passion intensified to white heat by their religious conception of Palestine. To them it was no mere geographical expression ; it was the Holy Land. Take them from their native soil, plant them among the heathen, and in a very special sense they become strangers and pilgrims far removed from all that gives life a meaning, and religion a purpose. What wonder, as they left behind them a ruined land ; what wonder, as they witnessed the destruction of the Temple, with all its tender associations, the symbol of their religion, and the centre of their dearest hopes—what wonder that in this dark hour of the nation's history a sense of desolation and misery settled upon them. The soul of the nation, so to speak, was passing through the Valley of the Shadow. To material misery was added spiritual distress. Why this terrible calamity ? Had God forsaken His people ? Listen to the dirge-like outpourings of Jeremiah, as in deepest sorrow

he mourns over the disaster that had overwhelmed Jerusalem, the city of the Lord, and the crushing evils that had befallen the nation :

How solitary doth she sit, the many-peopled city !
She is become a widow, the great among the Nations ;
The Queen among the provinces, how is she tributary !

Weeping—weeps she all the night ; the tears are on her cheeks
From among all her lovers, she hath no comforter ;
Her friends have all dealt treacherously ; they are become her foes.

The Lord his altar hath disdained, abhorred his Holy place.
And to the adversary's hand given up his palace walls ;
Our foes shout in Jehovah's house as on a festal day.

Her gates are sunk into the earth, he hath broke through her bars ;
Her Monarch and her Princes all are now among the Heathen ;
The Law hath ceased ; the Prophets find no vision from Jehovah.

Young children ask for bread, and no man breaks it for them ;
Those that fed on dainties are desolate in the streets ;
Those brought up in scarlet, even those embrace the dunghill.

Behold, Jehovah, think with whom thou e'er hast dealt thus !

Have women ever ate their young babes fondled in their hands ?

Have Priest and Prophet e'er been slain in the Lord's Holy place ?

Princes were hung up by the hand,
And age had no respect.

Young men are grinding at the mill,
Boys faint 'neath loads of wood.

The elders from the gate have ceased,
The young men from their music.

The crown is fallen from our head,
Woe ! woe ! that we have sinned.

'Tis therefore that our hearts are faint,
Therefore our eyes are dim ;
For Sion's mountain desolate,
The foxes walk on it.

The Jews were in Babylon, but not of it. Their hearts were in Palestine, and in their dreams they worshipped in the Temple. In dull despair, by the rivers of Babylon they sat and wept when they remembered Zion. Could they forget the holy city ? No. " If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its cunning. Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I prefer thee not ; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy."

To the Jews, Babylon, upon the whole, was not a harsh stepmother. They were allowed

to retain their own ancient customs and organisations. In the altered circumstances the ceremonial cult was robbed of its significance, inasmuch as sacrifice was impossible. Their sense of nationality the exiles kept alive by strict observance of stated fasts, especially on the anniversaries of the fall of Jerusalem. A substitute for the sacrificial ceremonies was found in the synagogue, and meetings for prayer were held at convenient places. Later, there was public reading of the law.

In their captivity the Jews were greatly stimulated and strengthened by the prophets, who pointed to the providential nature of the calamity, and predicted a time when the day of adversity would pass. Ezekiel foretells the restoration of the Jews to their own land. The unknown prophet, termed the second Isaiah, dispelled despondency by his optimism. The Lord, he declared, would redeem His servants; the days of bondage were practically over. He was emphatically the prophet of consolation. "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God." Cyrus the Persian was specified as the instrument of deliverance.

The prediction was to come true. In the struggle for world-power, Persia, in 538, triumphed, and to the Jews came the welcome

and long-looked-for tidings : "Babylon is fallen, is fallen." Under Persia the Jews received humane treatment. Cyrus gave the captives permission to return to the land of their fathers. All, however, did not take advantage of the proffered freedom. Many of them found life in Babylon, upon the whole, congenial. They had intermarried with foreigners, had built up good businesses, and had no liking for the hardship of a return journey on the score of a mere sentiment. They were at ease in Babylon. Others received the news with joy. The number of those who returned is given at 42,360. In the year 538 B.C. the exiles bade farewell to Babylon. Many a time hope deferred had made the heart sick, but now the ransomed of the Lord were returning to Zion with songs, and everlasting joy upon their heads. A weary journey of four or five months brought the pilgrims to the sacred city, alas ! now a heap of ruins. The first care of the Jews on their return was the restoration of the national worship. It was resolved to rebuild the Temple. Great was the enthusiasm. Money flowed in, there was plenty of stone to be had for the quarrying, and as formerly in the days of Solomon, rafts of cedar were floated from Lebanon to Joppa, the port of Jerusalem. Many of their own number had gained skill as

masons and carpenters in Babylon, and wages were paid to these workmen out of the general building fund. Seven months were spent in getting the materials ready, so that spring had again come round when the foundations of the second Temple were laid. The ceremony took place in the month Ijar (April) 536 B.C. It was a joyous occasion, but tinged with sadness. The old men could not help contrasting the second Temple with the glories of the first, and as the memories of the past rushed upon them they wept with a loud voice.

All was not smooth sailing. There were breakers ahead. Between the Jews and the Samaritans a feud sprang up. The Samaritans expressed a desire to assist in rebuilding the Temple. In order to preserve purity of worship the Jews determined to exclude outsiders; they had suffered enough from their contact with heathen neighbours, and resolved to have nothing to do with the Samaritans, who were known to be not sound in the faith. Religious isolation was henceforth to be the watchword of the Restoration. Nettled by the refusal, the Samaritans became avowed enemies. So persistent were they in their opposition that they obstructed the progress of the building during the reign of Cyrus; indeed, not till the accession of Darius

was real progress made. The Jews had lost heart, but two prophets, Haggai and Zechariah, roused them from their apathy. Their contention was that so long as the Temple lay waste Jehovah would not accept their offerings. The work was resumed, and in the sixth year of the reign of Darius (516 B.C.), twenty-one years after the laying of the foundation-stone, the building was completed. A solemn festival was held in celebration of the event.

The dream of a monarchy could not be realised. Instead of a temporal sovereignty there was priestly rule. The Jews were restored not under a monarchy, but under a hierocracy. At first great expectations centred round Zerubbabel, the recognised head of the tribe of Judah, the last representative of the house of David. Cyrus had appointed him Pasha of Judea, but he was completely overshadowed by the Persian governor, and the sole national representative was Joshua the High Priest.

Dark clouds were hanging over the Jewish community. Religious zeal began to wane, and with it the policy of religious isolation. Intermarriages were becoming common with outsiders, and the purity of worship was in danger. But a new era was at hand. In 458 there came from Babylon, Ezra the Scribe,

bent upon a reformation. When he witnessed the degenerate state of affairs he rent his garments and on his knees acknowledged to God the sins of the nation. As a preliminary to reform, an edict was issued that those who had intermarried with outsiders should put away their foreign wives. The work of "purification" having been accomplished, the next duty was the promulgation of the law. In this, Ezra had influential support in the person of Nehemiah, the cup-bearer and favourite of Artaxerxes. Nehemiah had been appointed governor of Judea, and as he was in entire sympathy with the views of Ezra the plans for a reformation were likely to be effective. The most pressing task, however, was the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, the removal of what was recognised as an "affliction and reproach." Nehemiah was not without enemies, who strove hard to thwart his design. But the new governor was not to be baffled. He inspired the builders with his own courageous faith. After fifty-two days of constant toil, during which Nehemiah and his co-workers never left their posts nor put off their clothes, the work was joyfully completed.

The time was opportune for the beginning of the religious reformation. Ezra's first task

was to instruct the people in the law, the neglect of which had resulted in widespread ignorance. On the first day of the seventh month, an immense multitude assembled in "the broad place" that was before the water gate. From a pulpit of wood Ezra read from early morning till midday in the presence of the men and the women and those that could understand, and the ears of the people were attentive unto the book of the law. The Feast of Tabernacles was celebrated, after which a solemn fast was proclaimed, the people bewailing their sins and renewing their covenant with God. An oath was taken that they would keep the law, avoid intermarriages with strangers, neither buy nor sell on the Sabbath, observe the Sabbatical year and remit all debts according to the law; pay a tax of a third of a shekel for the service of the Temple, and offer all first-fruits and tithes to the Levites. Thus once more in Palestine the Jewish ideal was in fair way of being realised.

About this time the feud between the Jews and the Samaritans increased in bitterness. The final rupture arose out of the expulsion from Jerusalem, by Nehemiah, of Manasseh, a Jewish priest of rank, for refusing to separate from his alien wife. He went to his father-in-law,

Sanballat, a Samaritan prince who built him a temple on Mount Gerizim. Here he organised a Samaritan Church, and since then there has been entire separation between the Jews and the Samaritans. So far as the Jews were concerned, the separation had one distinct advantage: it preserved them from the danger to which they were exposed of contamination by the religious laxity of the Samaritans.

It was ever the fate of Palestine to become the prey of contending Empires. The fortunes of the Jews were at one time at the mercy of Babylon; at another time dependent upon Assyria; then Chaldea left its mark upon them; next came the Persian domination; and now Greece was to appear upon the scene. Alexander conquered Persia, and as a consequence Palestine came under Greek rule in 332 B.C. With the career of Alexander a new influence began to manifest itself upon the Jews. Hitherto, by the strength of their policy of religious isolation they had successfully resisted the pressure of Babylon, Assyria, Chaldean and Persian environments. Now they were confronted with another disturbing influence—Hellenism. Up till the conquest of Palestine the Jews were probably unknown to the Greeks. In the words of Milman: "The Greeks little apprehended that a few leagues

inland from the coast which their fleets perpetually passed, a people with a language which they esteemed barbarous was quietly pursuing its rural occupations, and cultivating its luxuriant soil, yet possessed treasures of poetry which would rival their own Pindar and Simonides'; moral wisdom which might put to shame that of Plato; a people who hereafter were to send forth the great religious instructors of the world."

With Alexander's dominion over Palestine all was changed. Jewish religion and Greek thought were now to meet, with momentous effect on the religious development of the future. One of Alexander's aims, in pursuance of his bid for world supremacy, was to be the pioneer of Greek civilisation. Greek colonists spread over the earth, carrying with them the seeds of Greek thought and culture. In Palestine, cities were built by Greek enterprise, and naturally the Jewish religion came into direct contact with Hellenism, which showed a marvellous genius for expansion. Among the Jews this new and subtle influence was making itself felt, but it had strong obstacles to contend against before it could dominate Judaism. Nevertheless Hellenism was making progress, especially among the educated and higher classes; so much so that what may be called

the orthodox party among the Jews became seriously alarmed. They clung more firmly than ever to the law. If the Jews could not enjoy national independence they could at least enjoy religious independence. By a strange turn of events, their efforts to preserve their religious independence led the Jews to a great struggle for national independence.

CHAPTER V

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

AFTER the death of Alexander, the Empire was divided, and Judea came under the sway of Ptolemy Lagi—founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Under the first three rulers the Jews, both in Egypt and Palestine, enjoyed peace and prosperity. On the death of Ptolemy IV. (205), Antiochus II. incorporated Palestine with the kingdom of Seleucidæ. When he died he left to his son Seleucus a load of debt. Seleucus saw in the wealth of the Temple at Jerusalem a way out of his financial difficulties. His attention was called to the treasure by a priest of rank of the name of Simon, whose motive seems to have been to discredit Onias the High Priest and secure the sacred office for himself by the aid of the Syrian king. Seleucus died of poison, and he was succeeded by Antiochus IV., who appointed Jason, a brother of Onias, to the high priesthood. Jason, it seemed, had offered a higher price for the honour, a sufficiently painful commentary on the degradation into which the sacred office had fallen.

Antiochus conceived the idea of giving unity to the Empire by means of a State religion in the shape of Greek polytheism. In this he was encouraged by a section of the Jews. The head of the Greek party in Judea was Jason, the High Priest, who obtained the authority of the King to establish a gymnasium in Jerusalem for the training of the youth in Greek games. He was zealous in his efforts to amalgamate paganism with Judaism. To the devout Jews the whole thing was offensive in the extreme.

Meantime Jason was confronted with a rival as unprincipled as himself, Menelaus, a Hellenistic Jew. By outbidding Jason to the extent of five hundred talents he secured the high priesthood. He was, however, met with a serious difficulty, inability to pay the amount of the promised tribute. In his financial straits Menelaus robbed the Temple. The people were enraged with him and his brother, Lysimachus, who had also raided the sacred treasury. The result was something of the nature of an insurrection. Jason, who was biding his time, thought the moment opportune to oust his hated rival. At the head of a thousand men he appeared before Jerusalem. His plan seemed hopeful, inasmuch as a report had got abroad that Antiochus was dead.

Instead of being dead Antiochus was hastening from Egypt to put down the Jewish revolt. Jason's scheme was a complete failure.

On his arrival at Jerusalem (170 B.C.), Antiochus heard that the rumour of his death had caused great joy among the Jews. In his rage he ordered his troops to fall upon the city, and in three days 40,000 Jews were massacred and as many sold into slavery. He seized the Temple treasures, entered the Holy of Holies and carried away the sacred vessels. The tyrant was not yet satisfied. He was determined to stamp out the Jewish religion. In 168 B.C. he sent an army against Jerusalem, under the command of Apollonius, a general after the tyrant's own heart. He fell upon the defenceless people on a Sabbath, slew large numbers of the inhabitants and sold multitudes of women and children into slavery. The city was set on fire, the houses and walls demolished, and the sanctuary laid waste. Apollonius proceeded, after these preliminaries, to his appointed task, that of utterly destroying Judaism and in its place establishing paganism by sheer force. The Jews were forbidden, on pain of death, to observe their own religious rites. Not content with suppressing the Jewish religion, Antiochus determined to introduce paganism. In the partially destroyed Temple

he erected, on the great altar of burnt offering, a small altar to Jupiter Olympus, where were enacted scenes of gross licentiousness. In all the cities of Judea the Jews were compelled to worship heathen gods, and to eat swine's flesh that had been offered to idols.

Antiochus had overshot the mark. Misled by the renegade section of the Jews, he had concluded that there would be little difficulty in Hellenising Palestine. He was soon undeceived. To save their lives many had conformed to pagan customs, but the majority remained faithful to their religion. In days of prosperity the fire of religious zeal burns low; in days of adversity it bursts forth with volcanic force.

The first sign of approaching trouble to Antiochus and his pagan fanatics was the formation of a Jewish party, bound by solemn league to take their stand upon the law and defend their sacred institutions. They were the pious ones, afterwards known as the Pharisees, and consisted of the cream of Israel. Not from this quarter, however, did the storm burst. As is frequently the case in revolutionary movements, momentous events had their origin in an isolated incident. To a little country town, Modein, to the west of Jerusalem, came Syrian soldiers to summon the inhabitants to

make public acknowledgment of adherence to the pagan worship. An aged priest, Matthias, was selected to lead the way. He refused. Another Jew stepped forward to present an offering on the heathen altar, whereupon Matthias slew him, and the Syrian officer as well. Matthias and his five sons and other followers fled to the hills. Thus began a rebellion which formed the opening of one of the most glorious chapters in Jewish history.

The heroic band resolved to make a stand for their religion. Matthias adopted new tactics. Hitherto the Jews had allowed themselves to be slaughtered rather than fight on the Sabbath —a policy which played only too well into the hands of the enemy. This policy was abandoned. Numerous followers gathered round the small band. Up and down the country they went, demolishing the heathen altars, wreaking vengeance upon apostate Jews, and reviving Jewish rites. The work had hardly begun when Matthias died. His mantle fell upon two of his sons, Simon, who acted as Counsellor, and Judas, as their Captain. The surname of Judas was Makkabaios, hence the title Maccabees, by which the party was known. Judas proved a worthy son of a worthy sire. The band of insurgents developed into a regular army, and by his heroism and

personal magnetism Judas inspired his soldiers with a courage before which his enemies fled, terror-stricken. Apollonius, the governor of Judea, was defeated in battle and slain. Not long after, Seron, the governor of Cœle-Syria, was routed. Judas was the hero of the hour. Antiochus, determined to crush once for all the rebellion, sent a strong force under command of three trusted generals. So confident were they of success that Syrian merchants were in the camp ready to purchase the Israelites as slaves. The generals reckoned without their host. Their plans were entirely disarranged by the tactics of Judas. With three thousand men inadequately armed he put to flight the great army of the Syrians. The regent Lysias was determined to proceed in person to Judea, and next year (165 B.C.) he advanced with an army of sixty thousand foot and five thousand horse. He was met by Judas with ten thousand men on the road from Jerusalem to Hebron, and put to flight. By the unexpected death of Antiochus there was a lull in the military operations, during which Judas re-established the Jewish worship in Zion.

The fortunes of Judas and his noble army were greatly furthered by a disputed succession to the throne of Syria. This seemed a favourable moment for the Maccabees rescuing

their oppressed co-religionists in Southern Syria. Lysias, who had enough on hand elsewhere, and who had little of the fanatical ferocity of Antiochus, had no great desire to interfere, but when the Jews began to lay regular siege to Acra he took a decided step. He besieged Jerusalem, which, being inadequately provisioned, would have been compelled to surrender, but the schemes of his rival for the regency made it imperative that he should return. He made a treaty with the Jews, granting them all they had been fighting for. Religious liberty was secured, but this did not satisfy the Maccabees, whose ideal was national independence.

And here we come upon the germ of a problem which has troubled the world all down the Christian centuries, and is not yet solved—namely, the problem of the relations between Church and State. The Jewish aspect of the problem arose when, by the concessions of Lysias, the Jews were allowed religious liberty. The Pharisees, who were the leaders of the people, and who clung tenaciously to the theocratic system, saw in the concession of religious liberty the realisation of their ideal. Religion was their absorbing concern, and so long as it remained untouched they were content to be a subject race. A struggle for

independence, in their view, meant secular distraction, the rise of monarchy, with the result that the government of the people would pass from the religious to the secular party. What the Pharisees dreaded—what in our day is called Erastianism—was the supremacy of the State over the Church. This result, the Pharisees believed, would follow from a successful struggle for national independence. They preferred foreign domination with liberty to retain the theocracy, to monarchy under which the King would gather into his own hands all power in Church and State. The Sadducees, on the other hand, belonged to the aristocracy, were less fervently religious than the Pharisees, and attached themselves to the national party. Inasmuch as the Pharisees had the mass of the people behind them, it was clear that in their struggle for national independence the Maccabees were seriously handicapped.

Friction between the two parties began over the appointment of one Aleimus as High Priest. Judas opposed this, whereupon the Pharisees expressed themselves satisfied. Judas in this instance was proved by events to be right. The cruelty of Aleimus brought Judas to the front, and by the boldness of his military tactics compelled Aleimus to apply to the Syrian Court

for assistance. Under Nicanor a great army was sent. Nicanor was defeated and fell back upon Mount Zion. By insulting the priests he roused the populace to fury. A battle was fought, Nicanor was slain, and his army completely routed. Once more Judas Maccabees became the popular hero.

The triumph of Judas was short-lived. In April 161, two months after his defeat of Nicanor, the Jews were defeated in a battle with a fresh Syrian army under Bacchides, and Judas, one of the noblest of national heroes, was slain.

To the cause of Jewish nationalism the death of Judas was a paralysing blow. The Greek party, with Aleimus, gained the upper hand. Jonathan Maccabeans was elected to fill the place of his brother. Jonathan retrieved the fortunes of the Jews, and was in fair way of achieving independence when he was made prisoner through a trap laid for him. One only of the brothers was left, Simon, and naturally he became leader. Judas had secured religious liberty; Jonathan had secured control of Judea; and to Simon was left the task of securing national independence. In a contest for the Syrian crown between two rivals, Demetrius and Trypho, Simon took the side of Demetrius, who, out of gratitude, granted him the title and privileges of an independent

prince. Simon, in virtue of his position as an independent ruler, issued a new coinage in silver and copper. Once again Jewish nationality was an accomplished fact.

In the days of great Empires, small nationalities lead a precarious existence. Of this the Jews had painful experiences. In the past they had come under the yoke of four Imperial task-masters—the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Chaldeans and the Persians. Since then a new race, the Romans, had made a successful bid for world supremacy, and it looked as if it was merely a question of time when once again the Jewish nation would come under foreign domination. It was not long before dark clouds began to hover on the horizon. In their struggle against the Syrians, the Maccabees had been on friendly relations with the Romans, with whom indeed they had treaties. It was natural that when disputes came Rome should be called in as arbiter. Occasion came, owing to a dispute about the crown between Hyrcanus, one of the family of the Maccabees, and his brother Aristobulus, and now there comes upon the scene Antipater, the head of a house—the Herodians—which was afterwards to play an important part in Jewish history. Antipater espoused the cause of Hyrcanus, and it was probably at his

suggestion that the two brothers agreed to ask Pompey, who was commander-in-chief of the Roman forces in the East, to arbitrate upon their respective claims. Pompey heard the arguments on both sides, and promised an early decision. Aristobulus, instead of waiting for the decision, began making preparations for war. This so annoyed Pompey that he imprisoned Aristobulus, and marched to Jerusalem with his army.

After a siege of three months, the stronghold surrendered. The carnage was frightful. Twelve thousand people perished, and many priests were slain at the altar in the act of offering sacrifices. Pompey entered the Holy of Holies — an act of sacrilege peculiarly repugnant to the Jewish mind. The originators of the war were beheaded, and the country was made tributary to the Romans. Hyrcanus retained the dignity of High Priest and the title of Prince, but in reality the Jewish nation was a vassal state. Thus, after a brief career of meteoric splendour, lit up with the magnificent heroism of the Maccabees, the Jewish nationality passed under an eclipse. Let it not be said that the War of Independence was fought in vain. If the leaders did not achieve their ultimate purpose, the permanent establishment of the Jewish nation, they did

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something of no less value—they gave to the world a glorious example of undying faith, unquenchable patriotism and dauntless courage, the contemplation of which, even at this distant date, awakens responsive chords in the heart of humanity.

CHAPTER VI

UNDER ROMAN RULE

THOUGH head of the Jewish people, Hyrcanus was completely under the influence of Antipater, to whom he handed the reins of power. Nothing if not ambitious, he played his cards so well that after the death of Pompey he was made Lieutenant of Judea, Hyrcanus being retained as High Priest. Antipater's main object was to secure the kingdom of Judea for his family. He began by getting Herod, one of his sons (who was afterwards to become famous, or rather infamous) appointed governor of Galilee.

The rising influence of Antipater and his family was highly distasteful to the national party, who saw that the old dynasty, represented by Hyrcanus, was gradually being supplanted. In the confusion consequent on the death of Cæsar, Antigonus, nephew of Hyrcanus, enabled the national party to organise a plot against the usurpers. Antipater was poisoned. Herod fled to Rome, where he appealed for assistance against Antigonus. Herod got himself declared King of Judea, and, at the

head of an army, returned to Palestine. In six months Jerusalem surrendered. Terrible was the carnage; the streets literally ran with blood. Antigonus was executed.

Once securely seated on the throne of Judea, Herod determined to be avenged on his enemies, the partisans of Antigonus. All the wealthiest and most influential of the Sadducean nobles were executed and their property confiscated. Those who opposed him, or were suspected of opposing him, were ruthlessly murdered. Hyrcanus, now an old man, who had taken refuge among the Parthians, was induced by solemn promises of protection to return to Jerusalem, where he was assassinated. His grandson and successor in the priesthood was suffocated in his bath.

Herod's reign was in every sense baneful. He seems from the first to have resolved to treat the Jews and their religion with contempt. The high priests he deprived of the right of hereditary succession, he himself appointing them, and removing them in erratic fashion. He also deprived the Sanhedrim of its authority.

Herod's pagan tendencies soon began to show themselves. Posing as a patron of Greek culture, he introduced foreign ideas and practices. At Jerusalem he had erected a

theatre, decorated with the trophies of those nations conquered by Augustus. Every fifth year games were held in honour of Cæsar, to which other nations were invited. The games were framed on lines of the Roman arena, and included wild-beast fights. Such conduct naturally called forth the detestation of the Jews. It was clearly necessary to do something to conciliate them. Out of this grew the project of rebuilding the Temple at Jerusalem in a style of splendour, outshining that of Solomon's. It has been thus described: "A thousand priests were especially trained as masons and carpenters, so that only sacred hands should rear the temple. It was built with huge blocks of white marble. Its length was 100 cubits and its greatest height 120 cubits, dimensions exceeding those of Solomon's temple. The eastern entrance was hung with embroidered curtains, over which was emblazed a golden vine as an emblem of God's favour. The building of the temple proper was commenced in 20 B.C. and finished within a year and a half. It was then consecrated with great éclat on the anniversary of Herod's enthronement. Eight years more were devoted to the erection of splendid porticoes—indeed, building operations were still being carried on in the time of Christ.

The sacred edifice was garnished throughout with the spoils of vanquished nations. Over the forecourt was an inscription forbidding foreigners to enter under pain of death. Herod's erection of a golden eagle over the great gate of the temple, however, neutralised all his concessions to Pharisaism. It was an affront to Judaism and resented as such."

Spasmodic attempts to conciliate the people were of no avail. Herod's real nature ever and anon asserted itself. He had waded "through slaughter to a throne," and by slaughter he maintained his position. Devoid of the ordinary instincts of humanity, he was as ready to behead members of his own family as of his foes. His career of diabolism reached its culmination when he got his wife executed, and his two sons strangled. In reference to the latter, well might Augustus say he would rather be Herod's dog than his son! It is no surprise to be told that "his heart became a hell; his home a howling wilderness, his whole existence a nightmare." A monster he lived, and a monster he died. As if still further to qualify himself for an immortality of infamy, Herod summoned the elders from every village in Palestine, shut them up in the hippodrome and gave instructions on his death-bed to have them all slain, when he expired. For the

credit of humanity, the diabolical instructions were not carried out.

After Herod's death the kingdom of Judea was divided amongst his sons. Later, one of them, Archelaus, obtained half of the kingdom, but ruled so despotically that, in consequence of a complaint from Jews and Samaritans, he was deposed and exiled. Judea became a Roman province. Thus ended the vassal kingship, with the exception of a brief period (41-44), when Herod Agrippa I. united under his rule the dominions of his grandfather. After the death of Agrippa I., the country was ruled by a succession of Roman procurators, who treated the Jews and their religion with contempt. Under one of them, Cumanus, the discontent of the populace began seriously to manifest itself. The festival of the Passover was being celebrated at Jerusalem, and immense multitudes assembled in the city. To preserve order the procurator sent additional troops. The garrison to which they were allotted overlooked the Temple and the soldiers gave rude expression of their contempt for the proceedings. The worshippers, fearing an attack, became panic-stricken, and rushed from the Temple, where they, owing to the narrow exits, trampled one another to death by thousands.

Driven to desperation, the masses took matters into their own hands, and it is at this juncture we first hear of the Zealots, who became the dominant party, and whose methods were of an anarchical type. An epidemic of lawlessness spread throughout the land. Under two procurators, Albinus and Gessius Florus (62-64), demoralisation spread rapidly ; "assassins alone profited, and the procurators went shares with them in the profits." Things went from bad to worse, and it was apparent that revolution was in the air. Rome became alarmed. Nero dispatched his best general, Vespasian, to the scene. In the spring of 67 the Romans were masters of Galilee. Vespasian soon subdued the whole country. His plan of campaign was changed by the news of the death of Nero. Vespasian returned to Rome, was made Emperor, and the task of reducing Jerusalem was allotted to his son, Titus.

Within the city, two parties existed, and carried on a disastrous feud. The moderate section, realising the hopelessness of resisting the mighty power of Rome, counselled submission. The other section consisted mainly of the lower classes, and, led by the Zealots, clamoured for uncompromising resistance. The result was civil war, which continued with frightful ferocity

till the appearance of Titus before the walls. In his excellent book on the Jews, Mr C. H. Palmer gives a graphic description of the last stages of the siege: "The end was drawing nigh. It was now the 9th of August, the anniversary of the burning of the first temple by Nebuchadnezzar, and the Jews, nerving themselves for a decisive effort made a sortie from the walls; but after five hours' fighting they were driven back into their stronghold. Titus determined that the next day should decide the fate of the city. The Jews, however, being unwilling to wait so long, made another sortie, their last and ineffectual struggle. They were easily beaten back, closely pursued by the Roman soldiers, when one of the latter, without having received any order, found means of setting fire to one of the apartments immediately adjoining the sanctuary by throwing some burning materials through the windows.

"The Jews now thought that God had indeed abandoned them, and rushing with frantic cries to the spot, many of them precipitated themselves into the midst of the flames. . . . The Roman soldiery, maddened with rage against those who had resisted them so long, intoxicated with the sudden success, and excited by the scene, behaved with unbridled

licence and commenced a butchery too horrible to describe. Thus fell the Holy City. Of all the countless multitudes who had thronged the streets of Jerusalem and bidden defiance to the power of Rome, but a wretched few remained alive, and these were carried off to grace the conquerors' triumph, and to end their miserable existence as captives in the mines, or as gladiators. 'Butchered to make a Roman holiday.'

Humanly speaking, it seemed as if upon the Jewish people, not merely as a political entity but as a corporate body, the death sentence had been passed. Politically the Jewish nation was no more; religiously, chaos reigned. With the destruction of the Temple had passed away the emblem of the nation's unity and the nation's worship. In the midst of the tragic confusion, the weltering chaos, is it possible to detect a point round which the Jewish race might once more rally and preserve their racial and religious unity? Such a rallying or unifying point was Rabbinism, the germ of which is traceable to the time of the Babylonian captivity. In circumstances where the ceremonial side of their religion was necessarily in abeyance, the Jews were driven to the study of the law, which on the return to the Holy Land was elevated into a position of great

66 The Jew in History

importance. As Milman remarks, the law was not merely at once the Bible of the Jewish people and their Statute Book, it entered into the most minute detail of common life. Hence it became a deep and intricate study. Learning in the law became the great distinction to which all alike paid reverential homage. Public and private affairs depended on the sanction of this self-formed spiritual aristocracy.

Manifestly a body of this kind was only indirectly affected by political upheavals and national catastrophes. The Rabbins, as the interpreters of the law were called, were largely represented in the Sanhedrim. When the national life and the Temple were destroyed, what more natural than that the Rabbins should band themselves together, and equally natural that the remnant of the people, when they found that the learned Rabbins had escaped the general wreck, should submit themselves implicitly to their dominion.

The Rabbins recognised that if Judaism was to be preserved, it must more rigidly than ever be made an exclusive religion, fenced off completely from heathenism. This was largely effected by a process of widening the domain of the law in order to bring the individual within the sway of a rigid compact system. But for the Rabbins, the band of

union which had defied all previous calamities might have been snapped by the destruction of the nation, and the abolition of the Temple, with its priesthood and ceremonial cult. The law, in the hands of its interpreters and codifiers, kept the Jews a firmly compacted body after the destruction of the national existence. Moreover, Rabbinical Judaism was of the portable type; unlike the ceremonial which was necessarily tied to the Temple, it was applicable wherever Jews were to be found; and thus, however widely scattered, the Jews, by virtue of their attachment to the law, and by their synagogues, have preserved all down the centuries, in the face of persecutions, prolonged and ferocious, the indelible stamp of nationality.

In civilisation, nationality is a potent and persistent force. Taken by itself, however, it does not suffice as an explanation of the vitality and cohesion of the Jewish people. An explanation is only found when account is taken of another factor—the Messianic Hope. A peculiarity which distinguishes the Jews from all ancient races is that, while the latter placed their golden age in the past, the former place theirs in the future. The Messianic Hope has its root in the belief that Israel stood in a special relation to God, and that

Jerusalem was the centre from which to spread the knowledge of Jehovah. To quote Pfleiderer: "A Messiah of David's race who would in the power of God cast down all unjust rulers, raise up again the people of Israel and rule over it in righteousness, and also would hold under His yoke the nations of the Gentiles—this was the hope of the pious patriots in the middle of the last century B.C." Now and again there arose false Messiahs, who led the Jews along the path of dire disaster.

At the close of the reign of Herod there was born at Bethlehem One whose unique life, whose epoch-making words and deeds have compelled believers and unbelievers alike to face the world-wide question: "What think ye of Christ?" By the Jews, Christ's claim to Messiahship is denied because He does not realise their ideal of a warrior-king. For a time, among the common people He was popular. His marvellous personality, His mighty works, His self-sacrificing life—these threw a magnetic spell over the multitude, who would fain have taken Him by force and made Him a king. It gradually became clearer that Christ did not realise the Jewish conception of the Messiah, and His popularity began to wane. The author of *Ecce Homo* puts it very well as follows:—"They were offended

at what they thought the degradation of their great ideal. A King who neither had nor cared to have a court or an army ; a King who could not enforce a command ; a King who preached and lectured like a scribe, yet in His weakness and insignificance could not forget His dignity, had His royal title often in his mouth, and lectured with an authority which no scribe assumed—these violent contrasts, this disappointment of their theories, this homely parody of their hopes inspired them with an irritation and at last a malignant disgust which it is not hard to understand."

It may not be hard to understand the attitude of the Jews of Christ's time, but it is hard to understand the attitude of the Jews all down the centuries. History abundantly testifies to the fact that upon the conception of King, Christ shed a lustre which far outshone the splendour with which the Jews associated the Messiahship. As Horace Bushnell puts it : "Contrary to every religious prejudice of His nation, and even of His time, contrary to the comparatively narrow and exclusive religion of Moses himself, Christ undertook to organise a kingdom of God on earth . . . He undertook, coming out of His shop, a scheme much vaster and more difficult than that of Alexander. The thought of a

universal kingdom cemented in God—why, the immense Roman Empire of His day, constructed by so many ages of war and conquest, is a bauble in comparison. And yet the rustic tradesman of Galilee propounds even this for His errand, and that in a way of assurance so simple and quiet as if the immense reach of His plans were in fact a matter to Him of no consideration."

As astonishing as the prodigious conception of Christ is the prodigious success of the conception. "It is not more certain," says the author of *Ecce Homo*, "that Christ presented Himself to men as the founder, legislator and judge of a divine society than it is certain that men have accepted Him in this character, that the divine society has been founded, that it has lasted nearly two thousand years, that it has extended over a large and most highly civilised portion of the earth's surface, and that it continues full of vigour at the present day."

Christ triumphed because He freed religion from the narrow, cramping exclusiveness of Judaism, which from its nature cannot be a missionary religion. The germs of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, which are to be found in the early Mosaic cult, were all but crushed out of existence by the

later conception of a Messiah who would rule the nations with a rod of iron—a conception which, though modified by the Judaism of to-day, is too exclusively national to make for universality. In what Lessing calls the divine education of the human race, Judaism played a providential part. It contained a precious kernel, but to be of universal service the husk had to be broken. By their rejection of Christ as the Messiah the Jews have clung to the husk with a tenacity that has defied the fiercest persecutions.

It seems to be the view of progressive thinkers among the Jews that Judaism is a case of arrested development. For example, we find Mr Montefiore, in his admirable Hibbert lecture, asking the crucial question : “Is any permanent reform of Judaism within the limits of possibility? Can Judaism burst the bonds of legalism and particularism and remain Judaism still? It may be that those who dream of a prophetic Judaism which shall be as spiritual as the religion of Jesus and even more universal than the religion of Paul, are the victims of delusion. But at any rate, the labour which they may give and the fidelity which they may show to this delusion cannot be thrown away. Their devotion to Judaism is devotion to the cause of God. They are the champions of Monotheism, herald-soldiers of a world-wide

Theism which, while raising no mortal to the level of the divine, can yet proclaim the truth of man's kinship and communion with the Father of all."

It may well be that when Judaism gets rid of the husks of legalism and particularism the development which has been arrested will be resumed in the direction of Christianity. If so, the professors of Christianity will have to deal more tenderly with the Jews than they have done in the past. During the centuries, Christianity has presented to the Jews a most repulsive aspect. It has manifested little of the spirit of its Founder. It too often has manifested the exclusiveness of Judaism, which by intelligent Christians to-day is looked upon no longer as an enemy but as a stage in the divine evolutionary scheme of redemption. Had this view been always held, the world would have been spared the Jewish dispersions and persecutions which remain a tragic blot upon our Christian civilisation.

CHAPTER VII

DISPERSION AND PERSECUTION

AFTER the destruction of Jerusalem, Titus contentedly rested in the belief that he had also destroyed the Jewish community. To some Gentiles who urged still sterner measures he replied: "How can this be done! their country is now destroyed and no other place will receive them." Titus was mistaken. The Jews were not destroyed; they were destined to outlive all their conquerors. The Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Chaldeans, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, all in turn had wreaked their vengeance upon the Jews; and what is the testimony of history? Over those ancient Empires the waves of Time have swept and buried them in the gulf of oblivion; while the Jewish people, storm-tossed in seas which often raged with cyclonic fury, remain rock-like in imperishable and solitary grandeur.

Rome had given what was believed to be the death blow to the Jewish nation, but the Jews as a people, however dispersed, were to show themselves very much alive. How futile was the expectation of the Romans that the

Jewish race could be, if not exterminated, at least rendered powerless, is shown by the letter of King Agrippa I. to the Emperor Caius. He writes: "Jerusalem is the metropolis not only of Judea, but of very many lands, on account of the colonies which on various occasions it has sent out into the adjoining countries of Egypt. Phœnicia, Syria and Cœle-Syria, and into the more remote Pamphylia, Cilicia, the greater part of Asia Minor as far as to Bithymia and the remotest parts of Pontus: likewise into Europe—Thessaly, Boeotia, Macedonia, Etolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth, most parts (and these the fairest) of the Peloponnesus. Nor are the Jewish Settlements confined to the mainland; they are found also in the more important islands, Eubœa, Cyprus, Crete. I do not insist on the countries beyond the Euphrates, for with few exceptions all of them, Babylon and the fertile regions around it, have Jewish inhabitants."

In Rome the Jews formed themselves into separate communities; and so powerful had they become that, according to Mommsen the historian, "it was dangerous for a governor to offend them in his province." How formidable they could be, was shown by the great risings fostered largely by Messianic expectations during the reigns of Nero, Trajan and Hadrian.

It is a melancholy fact that the Jews, as a rule, fared better under the heathen, than under the Christian, Emperors of Rome. Constantine made conversion from Christianity to Judaism a penal offence. On pain of death, Jews were prohibited from circumcising their Christian slaves. Constantius went further, and attached the death penalty to marriages between Jews and Christians. The Byzantine emperors, Justin and Justinian, deprived them of all political privileges, and from every office of dignity they were excluded. In Africa the Jews were prevented from exercising their religion, and were forbidden to train their children in the faith. Treatment of this kind naturally created widespread discontent, and insurrections were the result.

The barbaric invasion reduced to chaos the Western world and inaugurated the Dark Ages. In the East, learning and philosophy flourished under the patronage of Mohammedan caliphs. Under favourable circumstances the Jews made their influence felt in the higher spheres of life and thought. The Jewish schools contributed greatly to the advance of the sciences. The caliphs, however, seized with the mania of persecution, expelled the Jews from the East. They passed through Africa to Spain, where the Mohammedan caliphs,

who owed the conquest of the Peninsula to Jewish influence, gave them a hearty welcome. This has been called the golden age of the Jews. At a time when Christian Europe lay in darkness, Mohammedan Cordova was the centre of civilisation, art and letters. The Jews had equal rights and privileges, rivalled their masters in their advancement to wealth, splendour and cultivation; they had their full share in high ministerial and confidential honours, and their commerce was carried on with industry and success. Here, too, Rabbinism found a refuge; the Talmud was translated into Arabic. The golden age did not last. About the middle of the eleventh century dark clouds appeared on the horizon, and persecutions upon a large scale became the order of the day. Despite this the Jews in science and literature reached considerable eminence. The greatest Jew of the Middle Ages was Maimonides, whose writings have left their mark on European scholasticism and whose influence is traceable in the philosophical system of Spinoza.

In his valuable work, *Israel in Europe*, Mr G. F. Abbott points out that it was mainly through the instrumentality of the Jews that the Arabic resuscitation of Hellenic science and philosophy was transmitted from Islam

to Christendom. Learned Jews, familiar with both languages, rendered the Arabic translation of Aristotle into Latin. In fact, the first acquaintance of mediæval Europe with any of the Aristotelian writings other than the *Organon* was due to the Arabs and Jews of Spain. Thus, continues Mr Abbott, "these two Semitic races were the first to stimulate in Western students a thirst for Hellenic literature and to supply them with the means of gratifying it."

In the West, the condition of the Jews became intolerable owing to the extraordinary outbreak of religious fanaticism, known in history as the Crusades. The Christians, from king to peasant, were seized with one great passion, that of conquering the Holy Land, in order to be masters of the Sepulchre of the Saviour. In the words of Milman: "When the first immense hordes of undisciplined fanatics of the lowest order, under the command of Peter the Hermit and Peter the Pennyless, assembled near the City of Treves a murmur rapidly spread through the camp that while they were advancing to recover the Sepulchre of the Redeemer from the Infidels, they were leaving behind worse unbelievers, the murderers of the Lord. With one impulse the Crusaders rushed to the city

and began a relentless pillage, violation and massacre of every Jew they could find. The locust band passed on; everywhere the traces of the crusaders were deeply marked with Jewish blood." When the Crusaders reached Jerusalem they took the place by storm. The Jews fled to their synagogue, "which the Christians set on fire and burned them all."

In England the persecuting spirit made itself severely felt. From the time of Richard I. till that of Edward I., the Jews were subject to all kinds of indignities. Edward I. did something to alleviate their condition, but he caught the crusading fever, and for the Jews that meant a revival of persecution. A royal decree was passed by which they were expelled from the kingdom, and forbidden, under pain of death, to return. It is estimated that over sixteen thousand of the persecuted race were exiled: not till the time of Cromwell were the Jews permitted to return.

In France the epidemic of persecution raged fiercely. The Jews were banished, but the decree was withdrawn on the plea that money was needed to carry on the crusades. In short, the Jews were convenient subjects to fleece, and hatred was subordinated to avarice. As in England, persecution went on under successive reigns, and culminated in banishment.

Insulted, persecuted, plundered, banished, the Jews could not but contrast their treatment under Christian kings with that under Islam in Spain. But when, in Spain, the Crescent gave place to the Cross, the age of toleration gave way to the age of devilry. Once Romanism got supreme power in Spain it set itself to stamp out what it termed the Jewish heresy, by means of the Inquisition, a contrivance which for sheer cruelty must have been invented by Satan in his most malignant mood. The populace were incited against the Jews by wild stories of Jewish plots against the State, and by the revival of the old wicked charge of sacrificing children. The Inquisition was brought into full play. Men and women, says Professor Hosmer, in his excellent book on the Jews, "disappeared in hundreds suddenly and completely as a breath annihilates the flame of a lamp, some gone for ever without whisper as to their fate; some to reappear in after years, halt through long tortures, pale and insane through frightful incarceration. When in the cities the frequent processions wound through the streets with their long file of victims on the way to the place of burning, children bereaved of father and mother flocked to see whether among the doomed they might not

catch a last look of the face of the long lost parent."

Not even the Inquisition could stamp out the Jews; they refused to be extirpated. What was to be done? With the desperation of despair the gang of religious diabolists got Queen Isabella to issue an edict for their expulsion. With dismay the Jews heard the fateful sentence. They had come to love "the beautiful land" which in the golden age of Spain had seemed to them a second Canaan. The scenes which followed, for tear-compelling pathos, for heart-rending tragedy, cannot be surpassed. Again to quote Professor Hosmer: "They visited the graves of their ancestors bidding them a long farewell. Sometimes they removed the tombstones to carry them in their wanderings. Along the highways proceeded the long files of outcasts, sometimes to the beat of the drums, which the rabbis and elders caused to be struck, that the hearts of the people might not utterly sink, bearing with them the scrolls of their holy Law and the remnant of their possessions. Many of the wretched exiles perished by shipwreck. Those who reached Morocco and Algiers were sold into slavery and ripped open by their oppressors, who hoped to find jewels which the exiles were suspected of swallowing." Weak and distracted

women, driven from luxurious homes among the orange groves, infants, the aged, infirm and sick, perished by thousands. About eighty thousand took refuge in Portugal. Here their cup of misery overflowed. All the adult Jews were banished. Their children were taken from them to be brought up as Christians. In wild despair, mothers flung their children into wells, or tore them limb from limb, rather than submit to the shockingly cruel edict. The air was filled with rejoicings over the signal triumph of the gang of papal fiends.

The policy of Spain was as suicidal as it was diabolical. The expulsion of the Jews deprived the nation of the cream of the population, and was undoubtedly a determining factor in reducing the greatness of Spain. The Roman Catholic Church might persecute but could not destroy the Jews. Above it all, in the words of Lecky, the genius of that wonderful people rose supreme: "While those around them were grovelling in the deadness of superstition: while juggling miracles and lying relics were the themes in which all Europe were expatiating: while the intellect of Christendom enthralled by countless superstitions had sunk into a deadly torpor, in which all love of inquiry and all search for truth were abandoned, the Jews were still pursuing the path of knowledge,

amassing learning, and stimulating progress with the same unflinching constancy that they manifested in their faith. They were the most skilful physicians, the ablest financiers, and among them the most profound philosophers ; while they were only second to the Moors in the cultivation of natural science. But their most important service was in sustaining commercial activity. By travelling from land to land till they had become intimately acquainted with the wants and the productions of each other, by practising money-lending on a large scale and with consummate skill, keeping up a constant and secret correspondence and organising a system of exchange unparalleled in Europe, the Jews succeeded in making themselves absolutely indispensable to the Christian community.”

Since the time of Shakespeare, Shylock has been taken to represent the money-lending Jew. It is quite a mistake to assume that the trading instinct with its money-lending adjunct is an innate quality of the Jewish race. In reality the Jews were originally agriculturists, but frequent dispersions naturally divorced them from the soil. They were driven into commerce and money-lending by the restrictions placed upon them. In Spain they were forbidden to act as physicians, bakers and millers ; no Jew

was allowed to be a smith, carpenter, tailor, shoemaker, currier or clothier for Christians. He could not be employed by Christians in any profession or trade. In England, the only profession allowed to a Jew was that of money-lending.

Persecution had as a natural result the deepening and intensifying of the feeling of brotherhood among the Jews, with a corresponding development of the sympathetic feelings with its practical outcome in charity. In an article in *The Jewish Chronicle* Mr Montefiore points out that the isolation of the Jews in distinct communities, surrounded by hostile environments, caused them to draw nearer and closer to each other, and tended to soften and bridge over the differences of poverty and position, and made charity a distinctive feature of the race. From a list of seventy heads of charity, Mr Montefiore proceeds: "First there are the charities given for particular objects, such as clothing the poor, paying for their education, paying dowries, paying burials, paying for doctors and medicine for sick persons and for lying-in women, defraying the legal expenses of persons unjustly accused, paying nurses for orphan children," and so on. To counteract the pauperising tendency of charity every

endeavour is made to make the poor self-supporting.

It seems to have dawned upon the rulers that banishment of the most industrious and thriftiest of their subjects was a policy of doubtful wisdom. To the tax-payer, the Jew was invaluable ; for filling the State coffers he was indispensable. Whatever be the motive, in the time of Pope Gregory VII. a new policy was adopted, that of treating the Jews as lepers and isolating them from the rest of the community. The Jews had a natural tendency to live together ; persecution increased the tendency to isolation. Isolation was no longer to be a spontaneous movement ; it was to be made compulsory, and out of this grew the Ghetto. Under Pope Paul IV. the new policy was rigidly carried out. The Christians and their places of worship were fenced off from the Jews, whose abodes were surrounded by great walls. The inmates of the prison were a distinctive class, and when they stepped out of the Ghetto they became the sport of the mob.

Who can picture the physical misery and degradation of the Ghetto system ? "At one time as many as ten thousand souls swarmed in a space less than a square kilometre. To the curse of over-population was added the yearly overflow of the Tiber, which transformed

the narrow, crooked lanes into marshy alleys, filled the basements with pestiferous mud, and turned the whole quarter into a dismal abode of prematurely aged men, of stunted elderly children, and of repulsive wrecks of womanhood: a place where Poverty and the Plague stalked hand in hand, and where man was engaged in a perpetual struggle with death."

Their enemies complained that the Jews were a peculiar people, whose religion made for separateness. Certainly those who invented the Ghetto could not have hit upon a surer method of perpetuating the separateness of which they complained.

Thrown in upon themselves, the Jews were necessarily a peculiar people. Physically isolated, they were all the freer to concentrate on their religion. The study of the law became a supreme passion. In the eyes of those who study Judaism from the outside, the law stands for a type of barren scholasticism, a mixture of futilities and puerilities, the study of which had as a result sectarian fanaticism and mental stagnation. No system of religion can be understood from the outside. For instance, to many the Confession of Faith is a highly forbidding document, and Calvinism, the practical side of it, a religion of gloom. Those who know Calvinism from the inside,

and have seen its working in the home and society, know that it contains within itself springs of spiritual joy and strength. And so with Judaism as represented by the law. Mr Montefiore has done a distinct service to Judaism, and deserves the thanks of Christians who desire to be fair to a creed which is not theirs, by his masterly vindication of the law from the aspersions flung upon it by theological sectarianism. He has shown, in his Hibbert lecture, that the law, which to outsiders seems burdensome, was not to the Jews burdensome but joyous. To the Jew, as he says, "the Law with its study has ever been the great spiritual stimulus. It has saved him from sacerdotalism and priesthood. It supplied for him the place of every sort of intellectual or artistic or even professional activity, from which his peculiar religion on the one hand, and the intolerance of mediæval society on the other kept him effectively away. It was the study as well as the fulfilment of the Law which prevented the Jews from sinking in the scale of manhood throughout the Middle Ages, intellectually and morally." Heine, who knew well the spirit of the law, but alas! to his own undoing, ignored it, once remarked that, during the long nightmare of the Middle Ages the religious side of Judaism, notably the Sabbath, enabled the

Jews to bear up under the cruel spell of bondage and degradation. The less their faith in man the greater their faith in God, as expressed in the words of an old Hebrew bard :

Destroyed lies Zion and profaned,
Of splendour and renown bereft,
Her ancient glories wholly waned,
One deathless treasure only left;

STILL OURS O LORD,
THY HOLY WORD.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DAWN OF LIBERTY

By Romanism, the prison house of the Jews was shut and securely bolted. Firm in the belief that it possessed the keys of heaven and hell, the Roman Catholic Church aspired to add the earth to its spiritual dominions. To clear the world of heresy became the avowed mission of Rome. The Jews, as we have seen, felt the full power of this monstrous tyranny. Rome, with its unbearable despotism, spiritual as well as temporal, was not to remain unchallenged. Two great antagonists were appearing on the scene, destined to combat its intolerable pretensions, namely, the Renaissance and the Reformation. Against the claim of the Church of Rome to rule despotically over the mind, arose the Renaissance, with its claim of intellectual independence: while Rome's claim of supremacy over conscience was resisted by the Reformation in the name of spiritual independence.

To the Jews the Italian Renaissance brought a certain amount of toleration. The Popes and leading ecclesiastics came under the spell

of the new spirit. They were too enlightened to persecute, and for a time the Jews enjoyed something like a Sabbathic rest. Their reprieve was short-lived. They felt the full force of the Romanist reaction inaugurated by Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits. In him the Jews found an implacable foe, ceaseless and inexorable. Persecution broke out afresh ; once again misery dogged the footsteps of the Jews.

What of the Reformation ? At most the Renaissance was a literary revival ; it was of the earth earthy ; it had no heavenward aspirations ; its cult was pleasure, its ideals pagan. It was otherwise with the Reformation. It stood for spiritual independence, the logical outcome of which was toleration. For a time it seemed as if the Jews were to profit by the new movement. At the outset, Luther espoused their cause, but a man of changing moods, of narrow outlook, and violent prejudices, he did not long pose as the apostle of toleration. For Luther, toleration came to mean toleration for himself and his followers ; towards the Jews he became more intolerant than the Popes. Luther's treatment of the Jews will ever remain a dark stain on a noble name.

It was reserved for Holland to carry the Protestant principle of toleration to its logical

issue. Upon the ruins of the Romanist despotism, Holland had no desire to erect a new despotism ; it resolved to share with the world the heritage of freedom which it had bought with tears and blood. For heretics, Holland became a veritable city of refuge. Thither Scottish Protestants fled from their persecutors, and in Holland the Jews found a land of liberty ; but even they were slow to learn the lesson of toleration, as their treatment of Spinoza only too sadly testified.

After centuries of religious and political persecution, England began to profit by the example of Holland. With the appearance of Cromwell, the time was ripe for a new departure. Manasseh Ben Israel, Rabbi of Amsterdam, seized the golden opportunity. He made urgent appeals for the return of the Jews to England. Cromwell favoured the appeal, but he failed to carry along with him a Conference which had been summoned to deliberate on the matter. He, however, gave his private permission to individual members of the Jewish race to settle in the country—a permission widely taken advantage of. By the Jews the memory of Manasseh is held in high reverence, so much so that in 1904 the English Jewish community celebrated the three hundredth anniversary of his birthday.

On the Continent the spirit of toleration manifested itself about the middle of the eighteenth century, particularly in France, where Diderot and the Encyclopædists made war against the despotism of the Roman Catholic Church. To Germany the new movement spread, though for a time, under the brutalising regime of Frederick the Great, the lot of the Jews was almost as bad as during the Middle Ages. In the persons of Lessing and Moses Mendelssohn the Jews had two champions. In his *Nathan the Wise*, Lessing placed upon the stage a Jew, who for the first time was recognised as a human being. In the work of emancipation Lessing had the brilliant support of Mendelssohn, who, by his wide culture and philosophic labours, raised to a high pitch the intellectual status of his race. His house became the headquarters in Prussia of Jewish culture.

Notwithstanding the great influence of Lessing and Mendelssohn, the work of emancipation in Germany proceeded slowly. In 1828 a scheme was proposed for the amelioration of the social and political condition of the Jews, but on account of popular opposition it had to be abandoned. Intolerance became the watchword of the time, and once more the old blood accusation was made to do duty.

Not till 1848 did agitation on behalf of toleration take definite shape. When the question of the emancipation of the Jews came before the Prussian Chambers, so marked was the change in public opinion that only two members opposed it, one being Bismarck. "If," said he, "I should see a Jew the representative of the King's most sacred majesty I should feel deeply humiliated."

In 1871, under the new regime which followed upon the war with France, Bismarck's humiliation was complete, for at that time political privileges were conceded to the Jews, who now exercise great influence in the Reichstag. When we think of the Germany of to-day, we think of the Socialist movement associated with the names of Lassalle and Marx, who, along with their followers, have left their impress upon German economic and political thought. In science, literature and culture generally, the Jews in Germany stand in the first rank. In France, the movement in favour of toleration received a great impetus from the Revolution, and, thanks to the watch-word, the "Rights of Man," the Jews were formally enfranchised. By a strange turn of events, Napoleon was their deliverer. He made an announcement which was sweetest music in Hebrew ears: he revived the

Sanhedrim, which for seventeen centuries had been in abeyance. Before the ravages of Time, the great monarchies of the past had gone down, and upon their ruins stood erect the Hebrew Constitution. Soon after, the Jews got complete political and civil equality, and shared in the privileges accorded to other denominations.

In England, prejudice against the Jews lingered long, and it was not till 1830 that a Bill was presented to admit Jews to the House of Commons. It was lost, on the second reading, by a majority of sixty-three. A year later, in *The Edinburgh Review*, Macaulay ridiculed the conventional argument that the Jews could not be patriots. He remarked that if all the red-haired people of Europe had for centuries been persecuted as the Jews had been, and excluded from all social and political offices and honours, where would be the patriotism of gentlemen with red hair? "If," continued Macaulay, "a proposition were made for admitting red-haired men to office, how striking a speech might an eloquent admirer of our old institutions deliver against so revolutionary a measure. 'These men,' he might say, 'scarcely consider themselves as Englishmen. They think a red-haired Frenchman or a red-haired German more closely

connected with them than a man with brown hair in their own parish. If a sovereign patronises them they love him better than their own native king.”

Gradually, public opinion showed signs of change. Civil privileges were conceded, but the political citadel refused to surrender. Baron Lionel de Rothschild was returned to Parliament five times, but was not allowed to vote. Not till 1858 were the Jews allowed to sit and vote in Parliament. In *Impressions of Theophrastus Such*, George Eliot thus sums up the situation in her day: “A people with Oriental sunlight in their blood, they have a force which enables them to carry off the best prizes. A significant indication of their natural rank is seen in the fact that at this moment the leader of the Liberal party in Germany is a Jew; the leader of the Republican party in France is a Jew; and the head of the Conservative ministry in England is a Jew. Tortured, flogged, spit upon—their name flung at them as an opprobrium by superstition, hatred, and contempt—how proud they have remained!”

Since the appearance of Darwin’s epoch-making work, there has been prolonged controversy with respect to the precise parts played by heredity and environment in the development

of individuals and races. One section of Darwinians lays stress on environment, while another section, headed by Weismann, claim that heredity is the all-controlling factor. According to the latter, environmental influences have only a temporarily disturbing influence on the law of heredity. Weismannism, with no theological intent, has a striking resemblance to the Calvinistic doctrine of original sin. For centuries, Weismannism has been the unconscious creed of the world in regard to the Jews. They were believed to have a double dose of original sin, so firmly in the grip of the law of heredity as to be impervious to changes of environment.

This view finds little countenance from history. True, the Jews, like other races, have characteristics which are rooted in heredity, but, like other races, they are largely under the sway of environment. Treat the Jews as was done in the Middle Ages, and as is being done in some parts of Europe to-day, subject them to a social boycott, refuse them all political rights, and what are the inevitable results? The inevitable results, as history testifies, are crushing poverty, abject destitution and mental stagnation. Treat them, as in Britain, as citizens in the enjoyment of political rights and social privileges, and what are the results?

At once the higher side of Jewish nature manifests itself. The hereditary qualities, no longer checked, but fostered by environment, have full scope to the benefit of the entire community. No longer handicapped by racial hatred and sectarian fanaticism culminating in persecution, the Jew takes his place in the ranks of progress and worthily acquits himself on the march of civilisation.

Worthily the Jews can acquit themselves when they enjoy the sweets of freedom, even in those countries where their emancipation is far from complete. Take Germany, which to the Jews has been at best, in her most tolerant days, a harsh stepmother. When we think of the Socialist movement we naturally think of Karl Marx, who gave it its scientific basis, and of Lassalle, who founded the German Social Democratic party, the leaders of which are Jews. Edward Bers Bernstein, who on account of his opposition to the war is an exile in Germany, is head of the Revisionist party, and the one man in Germany who has dared to defy the Reichstag is Liebknecht the Jew. Perhaps most significant of all, is the fact that the man who has charge of the huge machine for organising the troops, and has the entire management of the German railways, Herr Ballin, is a Jew.

France in like manner has profited by her tolerant treatment of the Jews, notwithstanding the disgraceful Dreyfus scandal. Her greatest living philosopher, Bergson, is a Jew. Over ten thousand Jews are in the ranks ; and before the war there were in the regular army eight Hebrew generals, fourteen colonels, twenty-one lieutenant-colonels, sixty-eight majors and one hundred and seven captains. General Heymans is in charge of one army corps, and five Jews hold important positions in the Cabinet.

When we come to Britain we see clearly how the nation has profited by her wise treatment of the Jews. Five of them are in the Cabinet ; one, Lord Reading, is Lord Chief Justice ; five are in the House of Lords ; six are Privy Councillors ; sixteen are Barons ; fourteen are Knights ; and eighteen are members of Parliament. Moreover, a Jew, Lord Reading, as head of the Allies' Financial Commission, successfully carried through the war loan in the United States. Further, the late British Ambassador at Berlin, Sir E. Goschen, is the son of a Jew, the late Viscount Goschen, who at one time was Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Admiralty.

Coming to Italy, what do we find ? In that country it was not till 1870 that the Jews were emancipated, and since then they have made

their influence felt in the higher walks of life. A Jew has been Prime Minister. Sixteen members of Parliament and fourteen Senators are Jews. It was a Jew, Baron Sidney Sonnino, who completely baffled the attempt of Prince Von Bulow to keep Italy from joining the Allies, and checkmated all his political schemings. Belgium in her hour of dire distress found use for the Jews. One of them, M. Hyman, was chosen by the King as his Ambassador to this country. Notwithstanding this satisfactory record, there were dark days still ahead of the Jewish race.

CHAPTER IX

THE ANTI-SEMITIC CRUSADE

IN his *First Principles*, Herbert Spencer describes the part which the law of rhythm plays in the cosmos. Evolution is shown to be, not the result of uniform motions, but of action and reaction. In the history of the Jews the law of action and reaction finds dramatic illustration. The splendour of the monarchy under David and Solomon, was followed by the gloom of the exile. On their return from captivity the star of hope shone brightly on the Jews, only to be eclipsed at the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion. After the horrors of the Middle Ages came the dawn of liberty. With the eighteenth century came the regime of toleration.

Once again the star of hope shone forth, but once again it was doomed to eclipse. Germany led the way in what is known as the Anti-Semitic Crusade. The emancipation of the Jews in that country had produced results not at all to the liking of the leaders of public opinion. No longer handicapped in the competitive arena, the Jews achieved

success in all departments of national activity. In the words of Mr Abbott: "Jews flooded the Universities, the Academies, the Medical Profession, the Civil Service, and the Bar. Many of the judges, and nearly one half of the practising lawyers of Germany are said to be Jews. Jews came forth as authors, journalists, and artists. Above all, Jews, thanks to the hereditary faculty for accumulation, fostered in them during the long period when money-lending was the one pursuit open to them, asserted themselves as financiers. Success awakened jealousy, and economic distress—due to entirely different causes—stimulated it." With the advent of the industrial era in Germany, the power of money made itself felt, greatly to the chagrin of the landed gentry, who, along with the peasant proprietors, found themselves frequently, in their financial difficulties, dependent upon Jewish financiers.

To fan the flames of popular discontent, religious prejudices were brought into play. Upon the scene appeared Herr Stocker, the Court preacher, with the cry that the Jews were injurious to a Christian state, and thus to intellectual jealousy was added religious fanaticism. In 1879 was formed an anti-Jewish league in order to render life in

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Germany intolerable to the race of aliens. Bismarck, in his official capacity, condemned the crusade, but he added: "As a Prussian, as a German, as a Christian, as a man I cannot help but approve of it." The epidemic of Jew-baiting raged with virulence, and as a result thousands of the persecuted race were practically driven out of the country. The fanatics overdid their part. Common-sense began to assert itself. Herr Stocker was expelled from the Court, and with the decay of fanaticism the epidemic slowly waned. How futile was all the sound and fury of Stockerism, is shown by the fact that to-day half of the Socialist party in the Reichstag is composed of Jews.

The epidemic spread to Austria, and even France, which a century previous had done justice to the Jews, involved herself in the shameful Dreyfus scandal, in a way disgraceful enough to make Diderot and his fellow-workers in the cause of toleration turn in their graves. But it is to Russia we must go to see the persecution of the Jews carried on with a persistent brutality, which makes one almost despair of humanity. In its treatment of the Jews, Russia is still at the stage of the Middle Ages. In that country popular animosity has its root in economic rather than religious

causes. In 1881 the popular feeling found outlet in a terrible attack upon the Jews. A succession of bad harvests had reduced the peasantry to destitution, and in despair they were driven to get financial help from the Jews, who began to be looked upon as the cause of their misfortunes. Political demagogues inflamed the popular passions, and the result was an outburst of appalling savagery. All the provinces from the Baltic to the Black Sea were given over to slaughter and misery, such as Europe had not witnessed since "the tragedy of the Black Death in the fourteenth century." As one writer remarks, the Russian persecution stands in some degree apart from other forms of the Anti-Semitic movement, on account of its unparalleled magnitude and ferocity.

Instead of restraining the passions of the people, the Government justified them by passing a series of enactments, whose intention clearly was to crush the Jews under a dead weight of tyranny. Their property was confiscated, and they were driven into Ghettos. Fifteen provinces were allowed them to live in, known as the Pale. All the universities and schools for higher education were closed to them, and a feeling of hopeless misery settled upon the persecuted race. Wealthy Jews came

to their assistance, notably Baron de Hirsch, who devoted a fortune to schemes of emigration. Over a million Jews were sent to America; and fifty thousand settled in Palestine, Great Britain and other parts of Europe.

Worse was yet to come. Horrors upon horrors were to accumulate. *The Jewish Chronicle* of 23rd July 1915 contains the following ghastly narrative:—

Facts that have been detailed to the present writer by friends in whose impartiality and veracity he could have nothing but perfect confidence, are backed up and confirmed to a large extent by an official document, an Order of the Day, issued by the Russian Generalissimo. This Order seems to have been promulgated in March last. It decreed nothing less than the expulsion of all Jews from military zones in Galicia, Bukovina, and Poland. The excuse for this terrible determination was an easy one to find ready at hand. It was the alleged disloyalty of the Jewish population. That allegation, needless to say, could have been based at most upon the treason of a few individuals. But the Russian Government, bettering Burke, indicted a whole nation. The decree, too, was directed not at any locality nor at any general section

of the population. It was a decree against the Jews as Jews.

And now we have the result. Some two hundred thousand Jews who had been living in the confines of Kovno, Kurland, and Suwalki were exiled by the Russian authorities, so that in the technical language employed, those districts might be "evacuated of Jews." Our unfortunate brethren upon whom this decree fell, were compelled to obey it by a short notice, varying from eight hours to thirty at the most. In that time two hundred thousand people had to leave their homes, their possessions, their all, and face—they knew not what! Not one Jewish soul of all this vast population was allowed to remain, so that towns which had contained a large proportion of Jewish inhabitants were deserted. Aged women, little children, women—even those hourly expecting to become mothers—some clutching to their breasts their new-born babes; people insane, cripples, the blind; those who were sick unto death—there was no exception for any. . . . It were futile to attempt to describe with anything like completeness what this horrible decree meant to the two hundred thousand Jews. For the conveyance of these people from their homes to some far distant Eastern province there were provided some

twenty-six "extra trains" as they were called. Each of these trains consisted of from forty to seventy waggons into which was huddled, pell-mell, this population of misery, sound persons and infectious patients, all of them thrown together in this living load. None of them knew whither they were going. The slow trains were not allowed to stop at stations where food could be supplied to the poor wretches. Twenty-eight of the poor passengers became insane through their sufferings: typhus broke out in this "extra train"; and death, cruel lingering death, was the only mercy which it seemed to the harassed victims would be shown them by a fate against which they were powerless.

As a consequence of the world-war the Jews are not suffering, directly, at all events, from anti-Semitism, but they are involved in a tragedy quite unique in the history of the race. All through the centuries the Jews were noted for their solidarity. Between them and their persecutors there was a clear line of cleavage. The war has brought about a terrible complication. Inasmuch as Jews are scattered all over the war zone, it has come to pass that the determining factor upon which side they fight, is the particular country in

which they happen to dwell. Russia affords an extreme case of this tragic anomaly. The Pale lies exactly in the Eastern war zone, inhabited by nearly ten millions of the Jewish race. All the men of military age were commandeered for either the Russian or German or Austria-Hungarian armies, according to the boundary line in which they happened to reside. Now and again it chanced that brothers or near relatives were engaged in mortal combat. So far as the Jews were concerned, in these zones there are no principles at stake, no question of patriotism ; they are compelled to lay down their lives, to slaughter their relatives at the bidding of remorseless tyrants. Here is the matter in a nutshell :

It is not because of the call of religion, political principles, loyalty to the person of a sovereign or leader, that they are called to arms, but simply because they are numbered among the population of nations of quite a different origin, and fight they must, for Governments which have never been anything but oppressive and cruel to them as a people. This applies particularly to the German Government and to the Russian in the past ; also to the Turkish Government, which compels

Jews to fight in their armies on every front. With regard to the French, Belgian, and British Governments, the case is quite otherwise ; the Jews fight whole-heartedly for those who have shown them kindness, and have given them civil and political rights.

Since the Russians have extended the privileges of nationality, and loosened some of their restrictive laws, the Jews on the Russian front have also fought nobly and gallantly for the Czar ; in fact, realising that Russia is now an Ally of their supreme friend, Great Britain, the Jews in the ranks are among the bravest and most whole-hearted of the splendid and self-sacrificing army of Russia, of which we have all heard so many great and valiant deeds.

As a result of the Pale Settlements lying in the war zone, the Jews, who had really nothing to do with the disputes which brought about the conflagration, have been sufferers beyond all others, worse than those of Belgium and Serbia, who are directly involved in the catastrophe.

When the Russians were driven back the Germans invaded Poland, all the Jewish houses were looted and emptied of everything valuable, and scores of hostages were taken in every city

from amongst them, including the heads of the communities ; while in a large number of towns unspeakable atrocities, worse even than those perpetrated at Louvain in Belgium, took place. This time the instigators of these crimes were the Germans. Jewish women and girls were outraged, and the hardships and sufferings of the people generally are simply indescribable. When the Russians came back and drove the Germans out, the Jewish haters in Poland had a great opportunity to keep the massacres going. They informed the Russian soldiers that their last retreat was due to Jewish treachery, and accused the Jews of being spies in German pay. Naturally, the Russian soldier who had lost his comrade during the retreat, without reflection avenged his comrade's death upon the poor Jew, and a constant massacre has been going on at the hands both of friend and foe. At each advance of the Germans, the Poles, to gain their favour, told them the same old story about their last retreat being due to the Jews, and so things go on. This has been authenticated and vouched for by Mr Baron of the 'Hebrew Christian Testimony to the Jews,' London. Paderewski, appealing on behalf of his compatriots, writes : " Since the opening of the War these armies have passed back and forth across Poland seven times, until it has

become necessary for the inhabitants to live on the bark of trees, and such food as can be found in the woods. In every case this is unfit for even animals to eat."

As another authority puts it, not since the Tartar invasion, has there been such a cyclone of destruction and misery. Well may the Jew of to-day echo the lament of Jeremiah over the tragedy which overwhelmed his race: "Is it nothing to you all ye that pass by? behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow!"

CHAPTER X

THE FUTURE OF THE JEWS

WHAT is to be the future of the Jews? One of the leading newspapers published a sketch of a patriarchal Jew, holding in his hand a globe of the universe, eagerly searching for a place where he is wanted. After examining all the countries of the world, he reaches the melancholy conclusion that he is not wanted anywhere. "This," he exclaims, "is a large, beautiful world, but no place for me!"

Others besides the patriarchal Jew have come to the conclusion that there is no place in the universe for the Hebrew race. A number of influential thinkers believe that by a slow but sure assimilation, they will disappear; by blending with other peoples, the Jews as a distinct race will vanish, and thus will be solved a problem which for centuries has troubled the world. In his book on the Jews, Dr Fishberg, who has studied the subject from the anthropological as well as the historical side, gives it as his definite opinion, that under the influence of Western environment, where he enjoys civil and political

privileges, the Jew tends to discard his religion, with its detailed ceremonies, and to become inoculated with Gentile sympathies, culture and ideals. In his own words : " It is evident from all available facts that Judaism thrives best when its faithful sons are isolated from the surrounding people, segregated in Ghettoes, or Pales of Settlement, excluded from educational institutions, frequented by people of the dominant faith, and thus prevented from coming into intimate contact with their non-Jewish neighbours. As a religious minority it is difficult for the Jews to preserve their identity after coming into close social contact with the majority around them ; social intimacy means danger of losing many, I may say most, of their best elements."

This line of argument draws its strength from the point from which Dr Fishberg starts—namely, that there is no such thing as Jewish nationality in the accepted sense of the term. " For the modern Jew," he says, " to insist that religion is the most important basis of nationality is absurd." In pursuance of his argument, Dr Fishberg contends that " the Jews cannot claim national unity to-day when they are scattered all over the world." Further, in his opinion, even suppose the Jews were to return to their ancient home, Palestine,

only a mere handful could take part in the process of renationalisation.

It will help to clear the air if we endeavour to discover the elements that constitute nationality. According to Renan, the cohesive principle of nationalities consists in "the actual consent, the desire to live together, the will to preserve worthily the undivided inheritance which has been handed down." Dr Sarolea, dealing with the same subject, in his striking book on Russia, says a nation is not a geographical expression. A nation, in his view, is a moral personality. It is bound together by common ideals, by common institutions, by common traditions, by common loves and hatreds, and most of all perhaps by the memories of common glories and common sufferings. These definitions will, no doubt, be accepted by Dr Fishberg, but he will argue that war and persecution are the great nation-making factors; when these cease, the cosmopolitan takes the place of the national ideal. Let us take a modern example, that of Ireland. War and persecution did their best to bind the Irish people together, in common sufferings and common hopes. In this soil national feeling flourished with intensity. At length, Britain entered upon a policy of toleration. Upon Dr Fishberg's assumption

Ireland should have become subject to the process of assimilation, abandon her nationalist aspirations and allow herself to be absorbed in England. Irish Roman Catholicism, freed from persecution, and in the enjoyment not merely of toleration but of privileges, should have lost its aggressiveness and made friendly approaches towards Protestantism. What are the facts? Ireland was never more prosperous than now, and just when, according to Dr Fishberg, Ireland should abandon her separatist attitude, she is on the eve of realising her political ideal, that of preserving her national identity by Home Rule. Ireland has freedom, but she is using it, not for becoming assimilated to England but for giving practical effect to her separatist ideals. In Scotland and England, where Roman Catholics are in the minority, they show no desire to sink their religious individuality in presence of Protestantism. Liberty and toleration, instead of making for assimilation, have made for separation.

From another point of view, Dr Fishberg's theory breaks down. Suppose, he says, Palestine became the home of the Jews, so few of them would return that the vast majority in other lands could have no interest in the reconstituted Jewish nation. Here too the

case of Ireland comes up for consideration. The Irish, like the Jews, had their dispersions. All over the world Irishmen are to be found ; and the strange fact remains that among them the feeling of nationality is even stronger than among those at home. The ideal of Irishmen abroad as well as at home, is not assimilation to England, not adaptation to the parliamentary environment of Westminster, but a National Parliament in Dublin.

Scotland affords another instance of the break-down of Dr Fishberg's theory of assimilation. By statesmen it was fondly hoped that as the result of the Union, Scotland would sink its national distinctions, and gradually become assimilated to England, the predominant partner. Leading Scotsmen, like Hume and Robertson, hoped to further the process by despising their own language, and in other ways set the fashion of imitating England. Centralisation was the political watchword for a long time after the Union. The cultivation of the English language, and adoption of English customs, became a mark of gentility, and the national sentiment an object of derision. If Dr Fishberg is correct when he says that the ideals and hopes of a nation are originated by the upper classes of the population and diffused by them among

the lower strata of society, the process of assimilation started in Scotland by the philosophers and culturists should have proceeded to a successful issue. What are the facts? From the peasant class sprang a poet, Robert Burns, who, with his magic wand, touched the patriotic soul of Scotland, and the sentiment of nationality reasserted itself. In *Scotland's Demand for Home Rule*, Mr Hector Macpherson writes: "Political centralisation has not been able to quench the national spirit of Scotland. The glowing torches, lit by the genius of Burns and Scott, have been passed on to succeeding generations, and to-day the national spirit, among Scots abroad as well as at home, burns with a steady light. We have a Scottish School of Art, a Scottish School of Fiction, and, in the universities, a Scottish School of History and Literature. These embodiments of the national sentiment are evidences of Scotland's undying desire to preserve her national identity—a desire which will not be fully realised till once again, in her historic capital, she possesses her National Legislature, descendant of the ancient Parliament of Scotland."

Thanks to Burns and Scott, Scottish nationality reasserted itself, and became an increasing

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factor in the life of the people. Burns and Scott disposed of the shallow eighteenth-century theory that, under centralised government, racial differences would be abolished—a theory which Napoleon tried to translate, on a large scale, into practical life, with disastrous results. The shallow cosmopolitanism of eighteenth-century thinkers has given place, under the influence of the evolution theory, with its insistence on the power of heredity on the race as well as on the individual, to views which favour the growth of nationality as a prime factor in the great process of civilisation. It is now recognised that each people possesses a racial and national constitution as unaltering as its geographical characteristics, the source of sentiments, thoughts, beliefs, which find expression in life and literature. Apart altogether from scientific theories, and looking at the subject from the standpoint of common-sense, is it conceivable that the racial temperament of a people, which has come to them from a long past, can be radically changed by social environment and political machinery? Dr Fishberg's neat portable generalisations, confronted by historic facts, suffer shipwreck.

If what constitutes a people, a nation, is common religious ideals, common traditions, common glories and common sufferings, then,

without hesitation, the Jews may justifiably lay claim to the principle of nationality. Is it conceivable that the Jews, whose entire history testifies to their determination, in face of ferocious persecutions, to stand fast by their national religion and national ideals, should become suddenly flexible and allow themselves to become like clay in the hands of the potter?

To the intensity of the national spirit of the Jews, is traceable the movement known as Zionism. Since the long-ago time when by Babylon's streams they sat and wept, the thoughts and aspirations of the Jews have ever been Zionward. Then, as to-day, many of the captives, settled in comfort in the land of their exile, refused to return, but a remnant—and after all the remnant is the cream of a nation—returned to Palestine to kindle afresh the flame of Jewish nationality.

Nationality is more than a geographical expression. It includes unity of race, sentiment and ideals, but for the realisation of its ideals a nation needs a local habitation and a name. How necessary this is for the Jews is evidenced by the present war. Great Britain, we are told, on the authority of the Prime Minister, is fighting in defence of small nationalities, and when the battle for liberty is over, Belgium, Serbia and Montenegro will come into their

own. The Jews have suffered even more than these small nations, but no mention is made of a day of recompense for them. Why? Because Jewish nationality does not exist in concrete shape, no part of the earth's surface can be pointed to as the territory of the Jewish nation. Jewish soldiers fight heroically, but under no flag of their own, and when the day of victory comes, no one will plead their cause in the Congress of Nations. The Jews, in brief, are fighting vicariously; their sufferings are for others. For them the war is adding another to their long list of tragedies. As my friend, the Rev. S. B. Rohold of Toronto, puts it:

"Three millions have actually become beggars. The forty Jewish colonies are devastated. Five hundred thousand have been slain, besides hundreds of thousands who have lost businesses, properties, etc. Have any of the nations promised redress? Not a word about it!"

Idealism and sentiment apart, the hard facts of life demand, that if ever the Jews as a race are to take their place in the world, if they are to be anything but hewers of wood and drawers of water to other nations, they must have a rallying centre, a fixed home. That rallying centre, that fixed home can be no other than Palestine, secured, not under philanthropic

but under State conditions. The aim of Zionism is to realise in Palestine the national ideal.

In his pamphlet, *Zionism and the Jewish Problem*, Mr Leon Simon states the case with incomparable lucidity :

“ Taking East and West together, there is a sufficiently large number of Jews who would be eager, given the opportunity, to help in laying the foundations of a new Jewish life in a Jewish land. The task of Zionism is to create that opportunity. As to the land that is to be the Jewish land, there can be no question. Palestine alone, of all the countries on which the Jew has set foot throughout his long history, has an abiding place in his national tradition. It was in Palestine that the Jews lived as a nation, and produced the highest fruits of their genius. The memory and the hope of Palestine have been bound up with the national consciousness of the Jewish people through all the centuries of exile, and have been among the most powerful forces making for the preservation of Jewry and of Judaism. The task of Zionism, then, is to create a home for the Jewish people in Palestine ; to make it possible for large numbers of Jews to settle there and live under conditions in which they

can produce a type of life corresponding to the character and ideals of the Jewish people. When the aim of Zionism is accomplished, Palestine will be the home of the Jewish people, not because it will contain all the Jews in the world (that is impossible), but because it will be the centre to which all Jews will look as the home and the source of all that is most essentially Jewish.

“ Palestine will be the country in which Jews are to be found, just as Ireland is the country in which Irishmen are to be found, though there are more Irishmen outside Ireland than in it. And similarly Palestine will be the home of Judaism, not because there will be no Judaism anywhere else, but because in Palestine the Jewish spirit will have free play, and there the Jewish mind and character will express themselves as they can nowhere else.”

In his book, *Intellectual Development of Europe*, the well-known American writer advances the theory that races, like individuals, pass through three distinct stages—youth, middle age and old age. Old age, of course, spells decay. An historical survey seems to favour the theory. Take Greece. As we draw near the close of Greek history we are conscious of marked decline in the Greek

intellect. The stars of the first magnitude, like Plato, Aristotle, Æschylus, Sophocles and others, gave place in later days to mere twinkling lights in cloudy skies. To this historical law the Jewish race seems to be an exception. With an origin which dates back to hoary antiquity, it retains to-day the intellectual vitality of its early manhood. Other races may come and go, but the Jewish race remains for ever; its intellectual vitality is unvarying. In modern as in ancient times, the contribution of the Jewish mind is as remarkable for quality as for quantity. In all departments of thought and activity, the Jews have left the stamp of intellectuality. To detail their labours in Philosophy, Science, Sociology, Literature and Art would need not one book but many, while in practical affairs they have left their mark on Statesmanship and Finance. We append a selection from the names of Jews who have achieved world-wide distinction:—

Statesmanship—Gambetta, Achille Fould, Disraeli, Lord Herschell, Lassalle, Lingi Luzzatti, Ex-Prime Minister of Italy; Baron Sidney Sonnino, Minister Foreign Affairs, Italy; Dr Liebknecht, Edward Bers Bernstein, Right Hon. Herbert Samuel, Home Secretary; Right Hon. E. S. Montague, Chancellor of

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Duchy of Lancaster; Henry Morgantau, Sir Edward Goschen, Carl Marx.

Theology—De Lyra, Neander, Archbishop Cohn, Bishop Alexander, Bishop Schereshevsky, Professor Strack, Edersheim, Dr Saphir, Dr Stern, S. B. Rohold, Dr Lewis Myers.

Law—Senator Ludovic Mortara, Lord Chief Justice of Italy; Lord Reading, Lord Chief Justice of England; Right Hon. Louis Brandis.

Finance—Jacob Schiff, Mendelssohn, Rothschilds, Montague, Lord Goschen, Straus.

Literature—Börne, Simson, Margoliouth, Dichter, Ben Judah, Bialik, Klausner, Brenner, Asch, Lord Burnham, Sir Wm. Herschell, Ebers, Emin Pascha, Herzl, Nordau, Professor Warburg, Dr Herlich.

Philosophy—Heine, Spinoza, Moses, Mendelssohn, Professor Bergson, Maimonides.

Music—Rubinstein, Mendelssohn, Bartholdy, Myerbeer.

A race which has produced such men is entitled to assert its capacity to control and govern a Jewish state.

Meantime the Zionist movement is at a standstill, and will be so till the issue of the war determines who is to have the control of Palestine. It may not, however, be amiss to

consider a prominent objection which is urged against the founding of a Jewish state. It is suggested that danger may arise from a conflict between the duties imposed by Zion, and the duties imposed by British patriotism ; in other words, that the establishment in Palestine of a centre of Jewish national life might be inimical to British interests. Here we are face to face with the old problem of the relation of nationality to Imperial rule. Germany solves it in one way ; Great Britain in another. Germany's solution is subjugation. With her Imperialism involves the crushing of the individuality of small states. As she has done with Belgium, so will she do with Serbia and Montenegro if they come permanently under her sway ; they will be Prussianised. With Great Britain it is different. She acts upon the assumption that self-government is quite compatible with Imperial rule. Great Britain has given to her colonies all the rights and privileges of free states, and in the case of South Africa she has had ample reward in the conversion of an enemy into a self-sacrificing, devoted friend. The manner in which the Boers have rallied round the British flag, is a signal tribute to the success of Great Britain in her rôle of a pacific, liberty-loving Imperialism, under which the religious, social and political

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individuality of her colonies develop along their respective lines. Instead of crushing them under the heel of a military despotism, Great Britain binds her dependencies to the Mother Country with the golden chain of patriotism.

In patriotism the Jews are not behind their Western brethren. In the present war they have fought and bled for their adopted land with a heroism reminiscent of the olden time, when they did valiant battle in defence of the religion of their fathers, and their sacred soil. A Jewish state in Palestine under British protection would cement still closer the Hebrews and Great Britain, the pioneer and champion of national liberties. Moreover, under Great Britain a Jewish state will be another testimony to the magnanimity of our Imperial rule, another bright page in our glorious history, another precious gem in the royal diadem.

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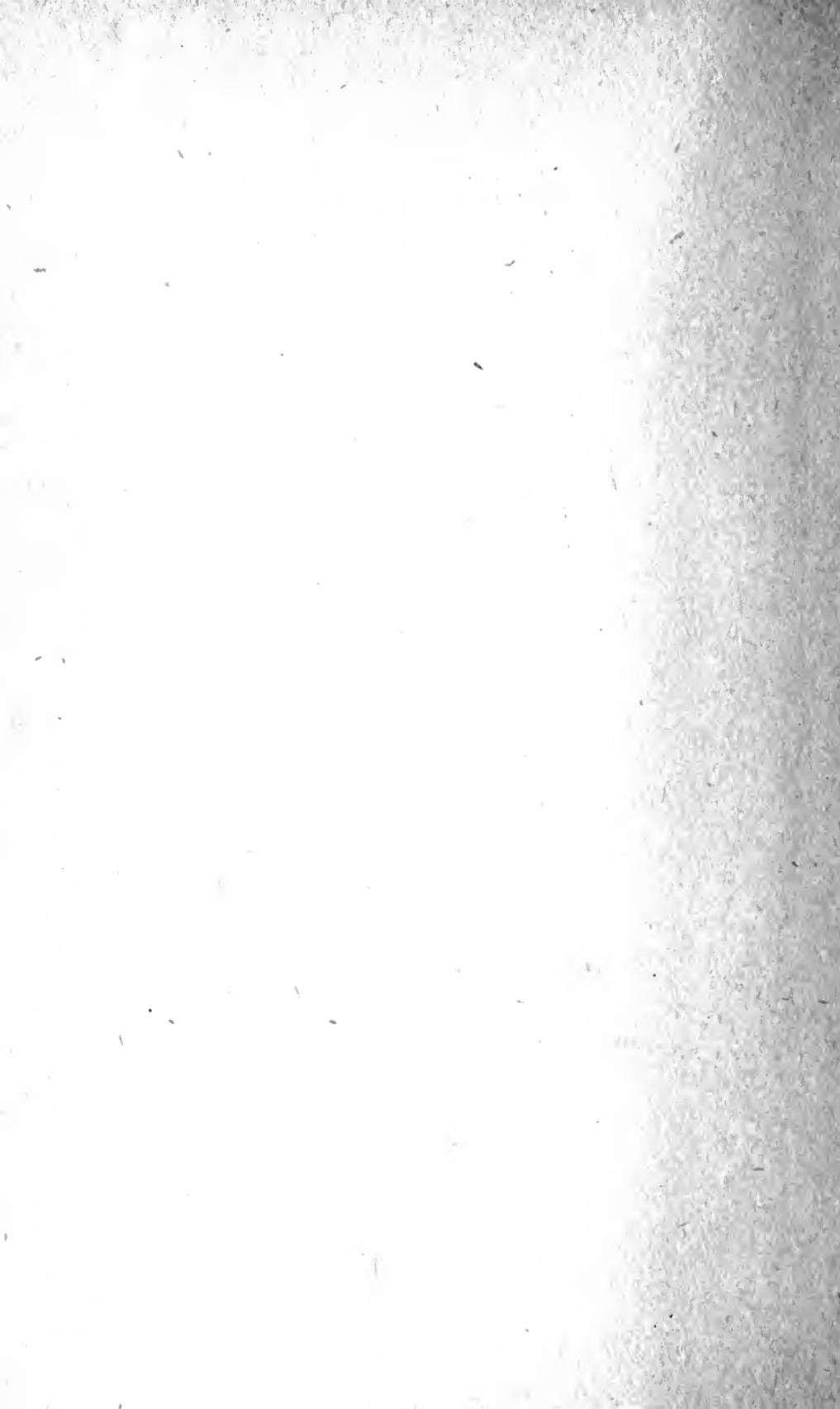
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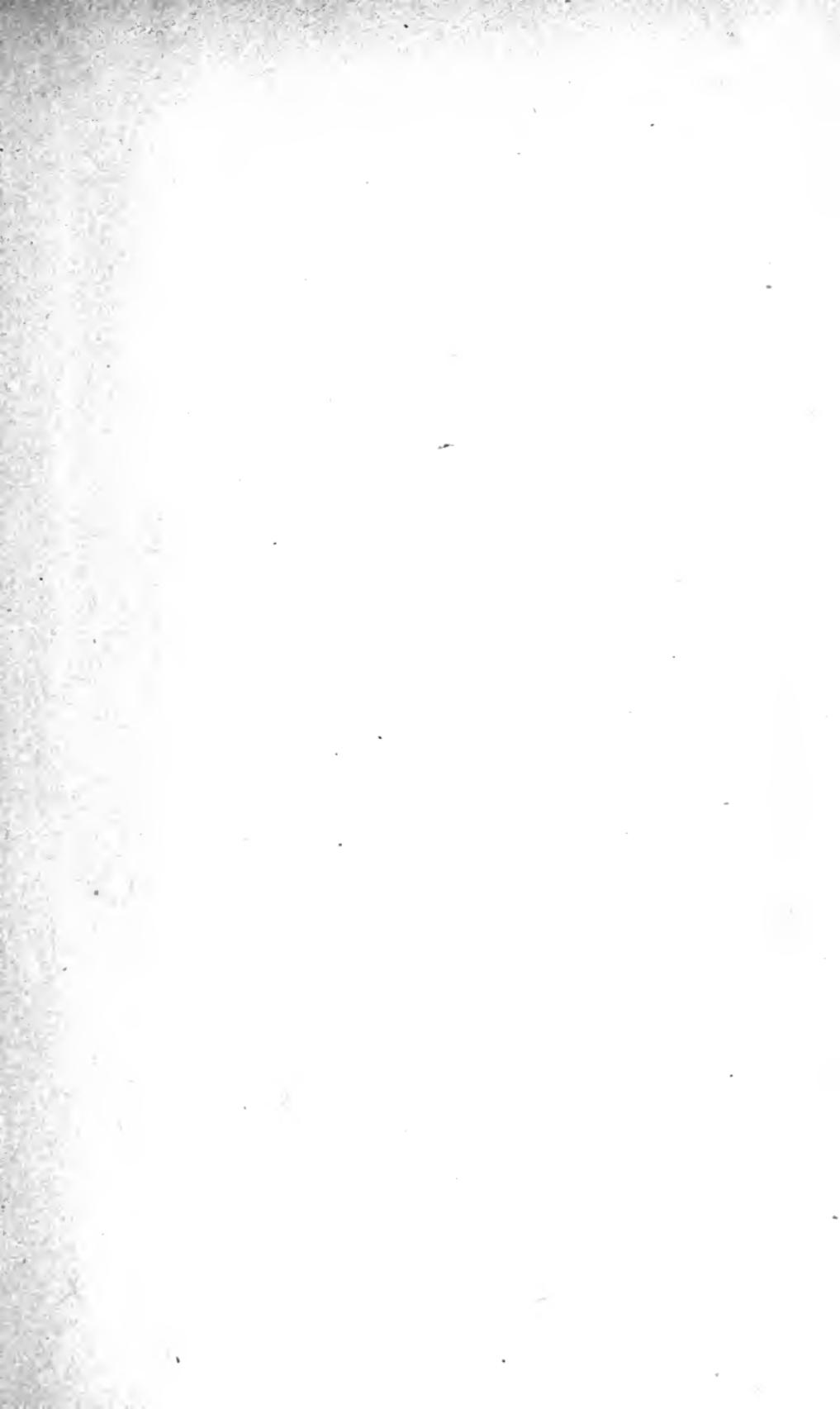
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